

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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THE BATTLE OF THE PLAYERS AND POETS, 1761-1766

The middle of the eighteenth century was a period of successful adaptations and few original plays, of mediocre playwrights and brilliant actors. We have forgotten the words of Arthur Murphy and George Colman the elder, but Mrs. Cibber, Macklin, and Garrick still live in the traditions of the English stage. Yet it was a time of very close connection between the people on the boards and those in the audience—a time of strong personal antagonisms that, fostered on the stage and in pamphlets, grew frequently to unwarranted proportions. The interest in the players was absorbing; the rivalry among the theatres was intense.

In 1760, only two regular play-houses were open in London: Drury Lane and Covent Garden. There were also the unlicensed theatre in Goodman's Fields, and the Little Theatre in the Haymarket,¹ where Samuel Foote, in order to evade the Licensing Act, advertised his plays by announcements like the following:

"Mr. Foote presents his compliments to his friends and the public, and desires them to drink tea at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket every morning, at playhouse prices." (Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 247, note.)

Much of the interest in the stage was due probably to the rise of mimicry and caricature in the theatre, fostered to a great degree by Foote. In 1760, in *The Minor*, he made sport of the Methodists; in 1762, he ridiculed the Cock Lane Ghost affair, but omitted the satire on Doctor Johnson, when that great man threatened to cudgel anyone who made fun of him on the stage.

The history of the London stage in this period centers, however, in David Garrick. His first piece, a sketch called *Lethe*, was pro-

¹ Wright, T., *Caricature History of the Georges, or Annals of the House of Hanover*, London, 1868, pp. 236-7.

duced at Drury Lane, in 1740. In March, 1741, he took the place of Yates as Harlequin at Goodman's Fields, and in the following October wrote to his brother, "Last night I played Richard ye Third to ye Surprise of Everybody."² His success was immediate; carriages thronged from St. James's and Grosvenor Square to the unlicensed theatre at Goodman's Fields where Garrick was playing. He joined the Drury Lane Company, and Quin, his great rival, opposed him at Covent Garden. Charles Fleetwood, who, at that time, held the patent of Drury Lane Theatre, alienated many of the players by introducing tumblers and rope-dancers on its stage. At last his company revolted under the leadership of Garrick and Macklin. On account of the Lord Chamberlain's refusal to give them a new patent, they were forced, however, to come to an agreement with Fleetwood. In 1746, Garrick joined Rich in the Covent Garden Company. Fleetwood, in the meantime, had sold his interest in Drury Lane, which then came under Lacy's management. Rich had the better company, with Garrick, Quin, Woodward, Mrs. Cibber, and Mrs. Pritchard. He treated Garrick, however, with such indifference that in the summer of 1747 the great actor left, to become joint owner and stage-manager of Drury Lane. Some of the best actors from Covent Garden, including Mrs. Cibber and Mrs. Pritchard, followed him to his new theatre. On account of various quarrels, Barry and Mrs. Cibber left his company in 1749. This made Covent Garden again a dangerous rival.

The rivalry between the theatres was embittered by attacks upon Garrick. As manager of Drury Lane, he was censured by some of the critics because he was slow in producing new plays. Excitement rose to a high pitch in 1755, when he brought out "The Chinese Festival," a great spectacle, for which, unfortunately, it was necessary to employ a number of French dancers. Feeling against the French, always strong, ran especially high at that time, when, both in America and Europe, there was open hostility between the two peoples. A mob tried to break up the performance on the first night, but, with the aid of the aristocracy, Garrick was able to check them. The conflict between the two parties lasted for five nights; on the sixth, the rioters, carrying all before them, destroyed everything on which they could lay their hands.

² Hedgecock, F. A. *A Cosmopolitan Actor, David Garrick and his French Friends*. New York, 1912, p. 35.

Nor was the attack limited to mob violence. In 1755, in reference to Garrick's introduction of French actors, there appeared, for instance, "*The Nowiad: An Heroic Poem*. Humbly inscribed to the most renowned *Tom Thumb* the Great, Patentee and grand Manager of the *Old-New English-French Theatre*: With Notes historical and critical. By a Spectator."³ Two years later *The Monthly Review* (vol. 16, p. 183) mentions *The Age of Dulness: A Satire*, which commented upon the middle-rank actors and poets of the time. For a number of years, both Garrick and his fellow-players were the prey of satirists in prose and verse.

Of all the attacks upon the actors, the most noteworthy was *The Rosciad*, by Charles Churchill, which, published in 1761, brought in its wake a flood of inferior critical and satirical verse. It was preceded by *The Actor*, written by one of Churchill's friends, Robert Lloyd, but was much more personal in its application.

In brief, the plan of the work is as follows: The London actors are all aspirants for the chair of Roscius, the great Roman actor. Shakespeare and Ben Jonson are appointed judges to decide among them as they pass in review. As the actors appear, Churchill characterizes them, points out their defects, and, if possible, praises their merits. Last of all, Garrick comes, and the judges are unanimous in awarding to him the coveted place.

The objects of Churchill's criticism may, in general, be grouped under three heads: bearing, feeling, and enunciation. He sympathized strongly with Garrick's efforts to develop naturalness of acting, and was particularly severe in his denunciation of those who were artificial in their manner. Davies, for example, an inferior actor,

mouths a sentence as curs mouth a bone.⁴

When a certain Jackson appeared, Churchill exclaimed contemptuously,

List to that voice—did ever Discord hear
Sounds so well fitted to her untuned ear?

(*The Rosciad*, ll. 429-430.)

The actresses, in most instances, met with Churchill's approval:

³ *The Monthly Review*, vol. 13, p. 459.

⁴ *The Rosciad*, l. 322. (In the Aldine Edition of the Poetical Works of Charles Churchill, edited by W. Tooke. In three volumes, London, 1844.)

Miss Pope, one of the great stage heroines of the day, Mrs. Cibber, and Mrs. Pritchard, all received unqualified praise. Mrs. Pritchard's acting of Lady Macbeth was especially noteworthy:

When she to murder whets the tim'rous thane
I feel ambition rush through every vein;
Persuasion hangs upon her daring tongue,
My heart grows flint, and every nerve's new strung.
(*The Rosciad*, 815-818.)

Garrick, as the hero of the poem, deserves the choice of the judges, for

. . . when, from Nature's pure and genuine source,
These strokes of acting flow with generous force,
When in the features all the soul's portray'd
And passions, such as Garrick's, are display'd,
To me they seem from quickest feelings caught,
Each start is nature, and each pause is thought.
(*The Rosciad*, 1049-1054.)

The publication of *The Rosciad* took the actors by surprise. It did not need any advertisement, for the players themselves spread the news. Davies, the author of the *Life of Garrick*, gives an account of the satire upon them. Barry, Woodward, and Mossop were in Ireland at the time, and first learned of the attack through a Dublin edition of *The Rosciad*. "Havard was more offended than became a man so calm and dispassionate. Rose pleaded guilty, and laughed at his punishment over a glass with his friend Bonnel Thornton. Sparks was too much a man of the world to be hurt by a poetical arrow. King was displeased, but King kept his temper. Shuter, out of revenge, got very merry with the poet. Foote, who lived by degrading all characters, was outrageously offended. Whether there was a particular stroke, which he felt more than was known to others, I cannot tell; but he was extremely violent in his anger. He wrote a prose dialogue, wherein he lampooned Churchill and Lloyd; I believe he was too wise to publish it. I remember that, with his usual alliteration of which he was uncommonly fond, he called Churchill the *Clumsy curate of Clapham*."⁵

The public rather enjoyed the fun. The actors, for so long a

⁵ Davies, T. *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick, Esq.*; in two volumes. London, 1784. Fourth Edition, vol. 1, pp. 329-330.

time, had used their privilege of caricaturing prominent people upon the stage, that the whole town was glad to see the fables turned, and the players running around "like so many stricken deer." (Davies, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 321.)

Oliver Goldsmith, in his *Citizen of the World*, gives an interesting satirical account of the literary warfare that ensued. He says, in part:

An important literary debate at present engrosses the attention of the town. It is carried on with sharpness, and a proper share of this epigrammatical fury. An author, it seems, has taken an aversion to the faces of several players, and has written verses to prove his dislike: the players fall upon the author, and assure the town he must be dull, and their faces must be good, because he wants a dinner; a critic comes to the poet's assistance, asserting that the verses were perfectly original, and so smart that he could never have written them without the assistance of friends; the friends, upon this, arraign the critic, and plainly prove the verses to be all the author's own. . . . The town, without siding with any, views the combat in suspense.*

Since the first edition of *The Rosciad* was anonymous, the reviewers were uncertain to whom to ascribe the authorship. *The Critical Review* suggested that it might be the product of Colman, Thornton, or Lloyd, or to any one of them (vol. II, p. 212). Lloyd immediately denied that he was the author, and in an evening paper published a fable against the Critical Reviewers, who had been very severe in their account of the work (*The Critical Review*, vol. II, pp. 339 and 209-210). This fable proved to be the forerunner of many other works of a more or less abusive nature—many of them due, no doubt, to the outraged feelings of the lesser actors and their friends.

Goldsmith notes that the epigram was one of the keenest weapons employed in the controversy. As an illustration he gives the following:

An Epigram

Addressed to the Gentlemen reflected on in the 'Rosciad,' a Poem, by the Author.

Worry'd by debts and past all hopes of bail
His pen he prostitutes, t'avoid a goal.—Roscom.

*Goldsmith, O. *Miscellaneous Works*. Including a Variety of Pieces now first collected by James Prior. Four volumes. New York, 1850, vol. XI, pp. 445-446.

Let not the hungry Bavius' angry stroke
 Awake resentment, or your age provoke;
 But, pitying his distress, let virtue* shine,
 And, giving each your bounty,† let him dine:
 For, thus retain'd, as learned counsel can,
 Each case, however bad, he'll new japan:
 And, by a quick transition, plainly show
 'Twas no defect of yours, but pockets low,
 That caus'd his putrid kennel to o'erflow.

* Charity. † Settled at one shilling, the price of the poem.

(Goldsmith, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 448).

Goldsmith quotes a second epigram which refers to the doubts of the reviewers in regard to the authorship of *The Rosciad*:

To G. C. and R. L. [George Colman the elder, and Robert Lloyd.]

'Twas you, or I, or he, or all together,
 'Twas one, both, three of them, they know not whether;
 This I believe, between us great or small,
 You, I, he, wrote it not—'twas Churchill's all.

(Goldsmith, *op. cit.*, p. 449.)

From every side epistles, odes, and satires kept flowing in: Lloyd, in addition to the Advertisement in the papers, printed *An Epistle to C. Churchill, Author of the Rosciad*, in which he complained of the decay of criticism, lashed the truculent character of the age, and praised his friend. One D. Hayes published an attack upon Churchill and Lloyd, entitled *An Epistle to C. Churchill, Author of the Rosciad*. Still another poem was *The Retort*, which *The Monthly Review* praises as better than many of the others (vol. 25, p. 477).

The London Magazine, in March, 1761, printed the following satiric epigram:

I hear the r——d Ch——ll's praise,
 Fam'd for the ivy and the bays;
 I read his heav'n inspired rhymes,
 That might adorn th' Apostles times;
 Where, meek and with a Christian spirit,
 He justly weighs each player's factors,
 Corrects the actresses—and actors.
 Oh! to reform this wicked age,
 Make him a—b—p of the stage,
 That none presume to act again,
 But those his grace is pleas'd t'ordain;
 So shall the church in all excell,
 And triumph o'er the gates of hell.

(*The London Magazine for 1761*, p. 163.)

The Anti-Rosciad. By the Author. *Poenum habet in cornu longe fuge.* Hor., appeared in April, 1761, written probably by Thomas Morell. In ten pages the author replied to Churchill's attack on the players, and attempted to answer his criticism. He hinted that the author of *The Rosciad* was actuated by motives of spite and self-interest, which led him to attack the players simply to win favors from the manager.

Arthur Murphy, the playwright and actor, in his nauseous *Ode to the Naiads of Fleet-Ditch*, compares Churchill to a pickpocket:

This last person's [i. e., Churchill's] hand has felt in his pocket twice in a very short time; in the *Rosciad* it was but a dip, and away; but as if this astonishing genius, who has lately amazed mankind, had improved in his trade, in his *Apology* he has attempted to make an entire rummage. (*An Ode to the Naiads of Fleet-Ditch.* Advertisement, p. 11. Churchill had written a second poem called *The Apology*, for which see below.)

The poem itself is a disgusting emanation from the sewers with which it deals. Later in the year, however, Murphy published *The Examiner*,⁷ a satire that contains a further, but more sane discussion of the war of the poets. He is severe, but not scurrilous in his treatment of Churchill, Lloyd, and Colman, and has risen far above his level in the earlier work.

A large part of Murphy's *Ode* is unquotable, as is also Edward Thompson's *Meretriciad*, which appeared in September, 1761, a catalogue of the frail beauties of London. Incidentally, it praises Churchill in extravagant terms:

Ch——'s the muse, who dare aspire to rise,
And pluck the di'monds from the starry skies.
(*The Meretriciad*, p. 2.)

In a long prose tract, *The Churchilliad: or a Few Modest Questions Proposed to the Reverend Author of the Rosciad*, 1761, we have an overdrawn but not impossible picture of the satirist:

I have often look'd upon those shoulders, and the pedestals you wear for legs, with an eye of envy, and as for that little natural imperfection in your face, which the faculty call a convulsion of the part, proceeding from some irregularity in muscles, I have observed with the greatest pity. (*The Churchilliad*, pp. 29-30.)

⁷ At the head of the poem is the title, *The Expostulation*. The title was changed to *The Examiner* to avoid confusion with another *Expostulation* written by Murphy's enemies.

The author suggests that hunger prompted *The Rosciad*, and tells a story of Churchill's keeping two bodies waiting in the church for burial while he was watching a play from the orchestra of the Drury Lane Theatre. It would seem that a French Protestant read the burial service:

And what could it signify to the dead to be buried by a French protestant, who could not read a word of English? Was not he [i. e., Churchill] lowering the insolent pride of a set of people, who had the impudence to dine upon *fish* and *fowls* in a superb *apartment*, while he was forced to dart into a cellar in St. Giles's where the knives and forks are chained to the table, for fear the company should steal them, and there dine voluptuously upon ox cheek? (*The Churchilliad*, p. 12.)

Churchill, in the meantime, had not been entirely silent. In *The Apology*, a poem published in April, 1761, he assailed *The Critical Review* for its harsh reception of his earlier poem, and dashed Garrick from the pedestal on which he had placed him the month before. He sneered at the strolling player who had become the haughty monarch of the London stage; he mocked those petty satellites who trembled at the tyrant's frown. Whether a quarrel had arisen between the two, or whether Churchill wrote this poem merely to gain more money, we cannot tell, but his attack must have been very disconcerting to Garrick, who was being assailed from another quarter at the same time.

A certain Fitzpatrick, the leader of some of the mob opposition to Garrick, had been attacking him in a series of letters first published in *The Craftsman* and then as *An Inquiry into the real Merit of a certain popular Performer . . .* "the overflowings of spleen, ignorance, conceit, and disappointment" (*The Critical Review*, vol. 11, p. 80). Garrick replied in June, 1761, with *The Fribbleriad*, a satirical poem, in which Fitzpatrick appears as Figzig, the chairman of the Panfribblerium, where all the Fribbles are plotting the manager's destruction. Among the Fribbles, but more open than they in his attack, is Churchill, whose one hand holds a pen, the other, a club (*The Fribbleriad*, p. 16).

An Epistle to the Author of the Rosciad and the Apology, 1761, a poem published in answer to Churchill's first two works, is a meek exhortation to the satirist, advising him to sing the "Moral song," and leave lampoon to snarling Critics.

In June, 1761, was published another satire, *The Scrubs of Parnassus: or All in the Wrong*, of which the Critical Reviewers

give a brief account, again expressing their utter weariness of the warfare that had already continued several months and was showing no signs of coming to an end (*The Critical Review*, vol. 11, p. 495).

On November 24, 1761, appeared in *The London Chronicle*, a poem called 'All in the Wrong.' *A Poetical Essay Humbly addressed to the literary game-cocks of the present Age*, taking its title, perhaps, from Murphy's play, *All in the Wrong*, which was being performed in November, 1761.⁸ It censures the disputants on both sides, and urges them to follow Horace, rather than Juvenal:

All in the wrong the bick'ring bards I deem,
Who quick, and quarrelsome, and choak'd with phlegm,
Against their rival-brethren of the quill,
With mean, illib'ral taunts, their poems fill;
And much good verse throw foolishly away,
A temper touch'd with malice to display.
Ye Murphys, Churchills, Lloyds, for shame agree.

(*The London Chronicle*, vol. x, pp. 508-509.)

It is interesting to note that the reviewers, after reading such works as those I have mentioned, were quite ready to acknowledge Churchill as the master, and the other poets as imitators. They had criticized him harshly, and they would do so again in the latter part of his career, but, for instance, in its account of *The Four Farthing-Candles, A Satire*. Inscribed to A. D., Esq., *The Monthly Review* comments:

There are some smart things in his Poem; but his denying the applauded Author of the *Rosciad* any share of genius, is enough to make every discerning Reader question that of our Satirist himself, or, at least to pronounce him utterly destitute of candor. Can anything be more absurd than the following lines, applied to Mr. Churchill?

When a rough unwieldy wight
Turns Bard—inspir'd—by nought but spite,
Tho' here and there a *stolen* thought
May prove the Blockhead not untaught,
Yet, by his aukward hobbling gait
We easily discern the cheat;
And in each spleen-fraught line can trace
His want of Genius, as of Grace.

(*The Monthly Review*, vol. 62, p. 231.)

⁸ *The London Chronicle*, vol. x, pp. 508-509.

Even from the brief extracts that I have quoted, it is possible to get a fairly good idea of the general quality of these polemics. In most cases they are simply rhymed and abusive prose lampoon. They lack all pretense to humor or to imagination. Had a great poet consented to enter the conflict, either on the side of actors or of Churchill, it might have been possible to have a revival of meritorious satire. As it was, the stream of abuse became thinner and more worthless until at last it vanished in the underground channels of Grub Street. As it flowed, it divided into two branches, one of which continued the quarrel of the poets, and the other led into imitations of *The Rosciad*.

Of the first group I shall mention only four, (1) *The Triumvirate: a poetical Portrait, Taken from the Life, and Finished after the Manner of Swift*, was the cause of a lament by *The Monthly Review* over the pernicious war of the bards:

We are sorry to find that the literary heats which so much interested the attention of the public last winter, are likely to be revived in this, and that the improvement of real and useful knowledge must again give way to private animosities; which, as they have been hitherto managed, are not less prejudicial to the interest and characters of the parties concerned, than troublesome and unprofitable to the public.

(*The Monthly Review*, vol. 25, p. 319.)

(2) An Epistle to * * * *. A. M. Student of Christ Church, written in November, 1761, by a certain Mr. Woodhull. This, according to *The Monthly Review*, was considered influenced by *The Rosciad* and *The Apology*, but not so "nervously expressed" (*The Monthly Review*, vol. 25, p. 330).

(3) *The Muse's Advice. Addressed to the Poets of the Age*, by Mr. Woty, who tries to mediate between the opposing camps of angry poets. *The Monthly Review* is apprehensive "lest the simple youth be rewarded with a broken head for his officiousness" (vol. 25, p. 479).

(4) *Day: An Epistle to C. Churchill*; By G. Freeman, Esq., of the Inner Temple. This is perhaps as far as we should trace this phase of the quarrel, since *Day* has been rightly called "a maggot bred in the corruption of those wounds occasioned by a late literary skirmish" (*The Critical Review*, vol. 13, p. 362).

Shortly after the publication of *The Rosciad*, it was rumored that Churchill was about to publish a *Smithfield Rosciad*, directed

against the minor actors. This rumor spread consternation among those of little reputation, for, although Macklin could laugh at any attacks that might be made upon him, the lesser men felt that another attack might ruin their chances of success. One Davis, an inferior player, wrote Churchill a long letter, couched in terms of the greatest humility, asking to be spared from the satiric pen. Churchill's reply was brief and contemptuous:

Sir,

From whom you have obtained your information concerning my next publication I know not, nor indeed am solicitous to know, neither can I think you intitled, as you express it, to an exemption from any severity, as you express it, which gentlemen of your profession, as you express it, are subject to.

I am your humble Servant,

Charles Churchill.

P. S. Defects (perhaps natural as you express it) are secure from my own feelings without any application.

Friday 9.

(*The London Magazine* for 1763, p. 500.)

The Smithfield Rosciad, which Davis feared, did appear, but was not written by Churchill. It is dull in spite of frequent borrowings from *The Rosciad*, and its attempt to parody it. It

is as inferior to Churchill's *Rosciad*, as a play at Bartholomew Fair is to a play at Drury-Lane. (*The Critical Review*, vol. 17, pp. 75-76.)

Among the other immediate imitations were *The Rosciad of Covent Garden* and *The Battle of the Players*. *The Monthly Review* notes that the former of these works was decidedly inferior to *The Rosciad*:

This unequal imitator of a late celebrated piece, abuses the *lower* actors of Covent-Garden Theatre, with more than Churchill's ill-nature; and praises the better sort with less, far less, than Churchill's Poetry.

(Vol. 26, p. 231.)

The author of *The Battle of the Players* was more ambitious. Not content with lampooning the players in one theatre, he tells us in his title that he introduces "*the Characters of all the Actors and Actresses on the English Stage: With an impartial Estimate of their respective Merits.*" Although it professes to be an imitation of Swift's prose, it shows a clear influence of the general

method of *The Rosciad*. (Noted in *The Critical Review*, vol. 13, p. 268.)

Long after the storm of lampoon aroused by the publication of *The Rosciad* had died away, various poets of third or fourth rank, taking Churchill's work as their model, tried their hand at dramatic criticism. In July, 1766, Churchill and others were interviewed in the Elysian Fields by the Shade of Quin, which later appears to Roscius and recounts its adventures in *The Interview; or Jack Falstaff's Ghost, a Poem*. Inscribed to David Garrick, Esq. (*The Monthly Review*, vol. 35, p. 79.)

In the following year, there was a revival of the criticism of the players. This petty quarrel centered in a poem called *Thespis: or a Critical Examination into the Merits of all the principal Performers belonging to Drury-Lane Theatre*. The reviewer remarks:

... The Author of *Thespis*, which may be considered as a supplement to Churchill's poem, is still more ill-natured. He has all the scurrility of his predecessor, without his fire and force: his virulence, without his poetry. Not that we think him inferior to the writer of the *Rosciad*, in point of harmony; for, in this respect, scarce any mere rhimester of his day was his inferior; but we have not here the concise, nervous expression; the bold, energetic thought; the elevated, manly genius; the natural, and even the becoming complexion for satire, from whence the late celebrated bard has been justly stiled [sic] the Juvenal of the present times. (*The Monthly Review*, vol. 35, p. 388.)

This was followed by a series of similar pamphlets, which, in general, I shall list without comment. They are all about equally insignificant as literature, but have some interest as indicative of the spirit of the times:

1. *Anti-Thespis: or a Vindication of the principal Performers at Drury-Lane Theatre, from the false Criticisms, illiberal Abuse, and Gross Misrepresentation, of the Author of a Poem, lately published, entitled Thespis*. (*The Monthly Review*, vol. 36, p. 79.)

2. *Thespis: or a Critical Examination into the Merits of all the principal Performers belonging to Covent-Garden Theatre. Book the Second*. By Hugh Kelly, Author of the First. (*Ibid.*, p. 162.)

3. *The Rescue: or Thespian Scourge, Being a critical Enquiry into the Merit of a Poem entitled Thespis*. (*Ibid.*)

4. *The Rational Rosciad. In Two Parts. I On the Stage in general and particularly, and on the Merits of the most celebrated Dramatic Writers. II On the Merits of the principal Performers of both Theatres*. By F—B—L—. (*Ibid.*, p. 163.)

5. *The Impartialist. A Poem.* The author, T. Underwood, follows Churchill, but, as the reviewer remarks, *non passibus aequis*. (*Ibid.*, p. 239.)

6. *Momus, a critical Examination into the Merits of the Performers, and Comic Pieces, at the Theatre-Royal in the Haymarket.* (*Ibid.*, vol. 37, p. 75.)

7. *Atys: or a Letter to Momus, on his late Descent among Mortals;—or, rather, to the mistaken illiberal Mortal whose lucrative Views have engaged him to wear that Mask, to cover Falshood [sic], Ingratitude, Malevolence, etc., etc.* (*Ibid.*, p. 148.)

8. *The Theatres: a poetical Dissection.* By Sir Nicholas Nipelose, Bart. (*Ibid.*, vol. 45, p. 508.)

This is one of the last of the direct descendants of *The Rosciad*, but the fashion of examining the merits of various persons spread from an examination of the stage to an examination of almost everything under heaven. The Aldermen, the Court, Parliament, and even the Church, came beneath the lash of the satirist. During the period of the American Revolution, the satirists found a more fertile field in the political affairs of the kingdom, and the players were unmolested. *The Parody on the Rosciad of Churchill* that appeared in 1781 resembled the earlier poem only in name. (*The Monthly Review*, vol. 64, p. 232.)

Such was the "Calmuc-tribe of authors who are to be regarded as the brood of Churchill's poem, and the heirs of his Billingsgate fortunes."⁹ Churchill did not create the fashion of attacking the players, but he made his criticism of them so keen and forceful that he kept the style alive some twenty years after it would normally have ceased to exist. Unfortunately for the literature of the period, only the lesser poets entered the controversy—many of them doubtless the very actors he had flayed. In consequence, we have a great mass of verse that apparently aroused a vast deal of contemporary interest, but that is practically void of all literary merit.

Formal satire in the manner of Pope was dying; Churchill could only delay the end. His followers, imitating him poorly, carried on the warfare for which he was so largely responsible. The new school of Post-Revolutionary satirists, however, turned to different metres and a lighter touch. The words of Peter Pindar, describing his own work indicate the change:

⁹ *The Monthly Review*, vol. 49, p. 230.

To mine, Charles Churchill's rage was downright rancour:
 He was a first-rate man-of-war to *me*,
 Thund'ring amidst a high tempestuous sea;
 I'm a small cockboat bobbing at an anchor;
 Playing with patereroes that *alarm*,
 Yet scorn to do a bit of harm.
 My satire's blunt—his boasted a keen edge;
 A sugar-hammer mine—but his a blacksmith's sledge.

(*The Works of Peter Pindar, Esq.* In three volumes. London, 1794, vol. II, pp. 346-347).

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THE FABLE OF BELLING THE CAT

The B and C texts of *Piers Plowman* contain the well-known fable of belling the cat with an obvious application to the political situation in England at the close of Edward III.'s reign.¹ For the earlier history of this fable Professor Skeat's note is inadequate: he merely quotes from Wright's edition that it appeared in the French *Ysopet*. But the story is very much older than the *Ysopet* (which itself, moreover, can hardly be considered a "source" until it is established that the English poet could read French), and it may therefore be of value to have the scattered data brought together.

The earliest known version of the fable is found in the Old Syriac *Kalilah and Dimnah*, which is dated about the close of the sixth century; and runs as follows:

The king of the mice consults with his ministers as to the possibility of freeing themselves from the cats. He himself thinks there must be some means of doing so. Two of his ministers agree with him and are subservient to his wishes, but the third and wiser one gives it as his opinion that an evil of long standing cannot be so easily abolished, and that any attempt to cure it may easily cause a great calamity. This view he confirms by a story. But since the king adheres to his resolution, he yields, and his colleagues bring forward proposals. The proposal of the first one, to hang a bell on every cat as a danger signal, is pronounced by the second to be not feasible. The proposal of the second, to go into the wilderness for a year that people may do away with the cats thus rendered

¹ *Piers Plowman*, ed. W. W. Skeat, Oxford, 1886, B-text, Prol. 146 ff.; C-text, Pass. I, 165 ff.

superfluous, is declared by the third to involve great hardships and to be an uncertain method. The third minister then makes a proposal himself, which is to act in such a manner as to induce men to ascribe to the cats the harm done by the mice, and to exterminate them, not as being merely superfluous but as evil doers. This plan succeeds, the cats are exterminated, and men of a later generation relate extraordinary stories of the harmfulness of cats.²

That this story was not properly a part of the *Kalilah and Dimnah* may be assumed from its absence from Ibn al-Mukaffa's translation (750 A. D.) of the Pehlevi original. Moreover, it is in none of the later versions, from the tenth century onwards, except the Greek of Simeon son of Seth (ca. 1080), where it appears in fragmentary form, and whence it passed into the Italian translation of Simeon made in 1583. But it does occur, however, in several Arabic manuscripts, of the twelfth century or earlier, of Ibn al-Mukaffa's *Kalilah wa Dimnah*,³ though apparently as an addition.⁴ While in the Syriac and Arabic the fable is only a part of the much longer story, it appears by itself—as regularly in the western versions—in the collection of Arabic proverbs of Maïdāni.

Negotii bravior pars restat.—Fabulam proverbii hujus explicandi causa adtulerunt. Mures, quum e fele vehementer afflicti essent, ut tintinnabulum ad felis collum appenderent, consilium ceperunt. Quum autem unus quis nostrum id appendet interrogasset alter proverbii verbis respondit.⁵

The earliest appearance of this fable in the West seems to be in Odo of Cheriton's collection:—

² I. G. N. Keith-Falconer, *Kalilah and Dimnah or the Fables of Bidpai*, Cambridge, 1885, p. xxxv. A summary from the Arabic version was given by Silvestre de Sacy, *Calila et Dimna ou Fables de Bilpai en Arabe*, Paris, 1816, pp. 61-3 of the *Mémoire historique*. The Arabic and Syriac texts were printed by Th. Nöldeke, *Die Erzählung vom Mäusekönig und seinen Ministern. Ein Abschnitt der Pehlewî-Bearbeitung des altindischen Fürstenspiegels* (in *Ahd. d. K. Ges. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, xxv, 1879), with translations (Syriac, pp. 16, 18, 20 ff.; Arabic, pp. 17, 19, 21 ff.). Nöldeke believes the story is of Persian origin. A French translation is given by J. Derenbourg, *Johannis de Capua, Directorium Vitae Humanae*, Paris, 1889, App. III. On the various redactions of the *Kalilah and Dimnah* cf. Keith-Falconer's Introduction, and V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, II, Liège, 1897.

³ De Sacy, *op. cit.*, *Mémoire historique*, pp. 33, 61.

⁴ It stands last in the old Syriac version.

⁵ G. W. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, I, Bonn, 1838, p. 169, no. 63; cf. also vol. III, p. 548, no. 473. On Maïdāni see Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, I, Liège, 1892, pp. 12 ff.

Mures habuerunt semel consilium qualiter se a Cato possent premunire. Et ait quidam Mus sapiens: Ligetur campanella in collo Cati, et tunc poterimus ipsum quocumque perrex[er]it audire et insidias eius precauere. Placuit omnibus hoc consilium. Et ait Mus unus: Quis ligabit campanellum in collo Cati? Respondit alius: Nec ego pro toto mundo ei uellem tantum appropinquare.⁶

Odo's fables were written about 1220. That his work was very popular hardly needs to be said. There are still extant two thirteenth-century manuscripts which contain this particular fable, one of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, and three of the fourteenth century. An Old French translation is found in ms. Phillipps-Cheltenham 16230 of the end of the thirteenth century. The English Franciscan, Nicole Bozon, probably got his version of the fable from Odo.⁷ There was a Latin translation of Bozon, which is preserved in a manuscript of the end of the fourteenth century. Moreover, Odo's fables were translated into Spanish under the title of *El Libro de los Gatos*.⁸

Besides those of *Piers Plowman*, Bozon and the *Libro de los Gatos* there are at least six other fourteenth-century versions of this tale known: (1) that of Ps.-Gualterus Anglicus in Latin couplets;⁹ (2) a translation (ca. 1330-35) of this into Old French octosyllabics, known as *Ysopet I*;¹⁰ (3) that of Ulrich Boner, of

⁶ L. Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, iv, Paris, 1896, p. 225 (Odonis de Ceritona Fabulae, LIV^a, "De Muribus et Catto et cetera"). Cf. Hervieux, II, Paris, 1884, p. 633, fab. LXXXII.

⁷ *Contes Moralises*, ed. L. T. Smith et Paul Meyer (Soc. des anc. textes fran.), Paris, 1889, p. 144; the note, p. 281, says: "La source directe, comme le prouve le nom de Sire Badde donné au chat, semble être une fable anglaise." Cf. Hervieux, iv, p. 98; and for Bozon's sources in general see P. Harry, *Comparative Study of the Aesopic Fable in Nicole Bozon in University Studies of the University of Cincinnati*, March-April, 1905.

⁸ Ed. G. T. Northup, in *Mod. Phil.*, v (1908), 477 ff. The fable of belling the cat is no. LVI, p. 522 [76].

⁹ Preserved in three manuscripts written apparently by the same scribe: Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 1594 (olim 7616), ms. XIII of the Grenville Library, and ms. 11193 of the Bibliothèque Royale of Brussels; cf. Hervieux, *Fabulistes Latins I* (1893), pp. 516, 571, 582, respectively. This fable was printed from B. N. fr. 1594 by C. M. Robert, *Fables Inédites des XIIe, XIIIe et XIVe Siècles et Fables de La Fontaine*, Paris, 1825, I, 99-100; and by Hervieux, with partial collation of the three manuscripts, in *Fabulistes Latins II* (1894), pp. 368-9.

¹⁰ Printed by Robert, l. c.

the second quarter of the century;¹¹ (4) that of John Bromyard, about the middle of the century;¹² (5) that of Eustache Deschamps' ballade with the refrain "Qui pendra la sonnette au chat";¹³ and (6) that of the *Dialogus Creaturarum* LXXX.¹⁴ Since the first of these, at least, may have been known to the *Piers Plowman* poet, I transcribe it here (from Hervieux):

DE MURIBUS CONCILIUM CONTRA CATUM

Concilium fecere diu Mures animati;
 Peruenit rapido magna querela Cato.
 Murilegus nos sæpe legit comeditque legendo;
 Cum nostris natis sic sumus esca sibi.
 Omnes conveniunt detur campanula furi;
 Sic improuisus non erit interitus.
 Concio tota probat sanctum, laudabile dictum;
 Nil fit, et abscedit garrula tota cohors.
 Ecce uetusta, sagax, uenit obuia claudica consors,
 Que cito non potuit accelerare pedem.
 Dicite, felices, que sit concordia uestra?
 Inserit ex gestis omnia silus acus.
 Arguit hos ueterana loquax quis forte ligabit
 Sedulitate sua tympana dicta Cato.
 Querunt qua faciant concepta medullitus arte;
 Non est qui faciat premeditata sagax.
 Nil prodesset enim sensato condere iura,
 Constanti vultu ni tueretur ea.
 Parturiunt montes; nascetur ridiculus mus;
 Nil prodest abs re magna futura loqui.

¹¹ *Edelstein*, ed. Franz Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1844, Fab. 70; also in J. J. Bodmer und J. J. Breitinger, *Fabeln aus den Zeiten der Minnesinger*, Zürich, 1757, LXX, p. 167-9.

¹² *Summa Praedicatorum* O, 6, 71 (Ed. Nürnberg, 1518, fol. cclxii; ed. Venice, 1586, II, fol. 155).

¹³ *Oeuvres* (Soc. des anc. textes fr.), I, 151, Ballade 58. Deschamps refers to the same fable in another ballade, *Oeuvres* v, 389.

¹⁴ Ed. J. G. Th. Grässe, *Die beiden ältesten Lateinischen Fabelbücher des Mittelalters*, Tübingen, 1880, Dial. 80, pp. 225-6. This work, with which is usually associated the name of Nicolaus Pergamenus, is found in manuscripts of the fourteenth century; it was printed first in 1480, and frequently thereafter. On the early editions and translations cf. Chauvin I, nos. 69, 70; II, no. 133 A. H. Régnier, in his edition of *La Fontaine* refers to a "Manuscrit de Sainte-Geneviève" containing *Le Conseil tenu par les Rats* (printed in *Recueil de poésies chrétiennes et diverses*, III, 369).

The fable in the *Dialogus* is as follows:

Non credas omni verbo, sed in omni facto intuendum est de possibilitate et de fine, prout in fabula quadam refertur, quod mures fecerunt consilium, ut facerent campanam et ponerent eam ad collum catti, ut quando iret cattus, audirent campanam mures et absconderent se. Affuit etiam inter eos aliis sapientior, qui dixit: esto, quod campana sit facta, quia vestrum ponet eam ad collum ejus? Et cum non inveniretur, quis vellet eam ponere ad collum catti, destiterunt ab inceptis.

It is of course futile to attempt to discover the immediate source used by the author of the B-text of *Piers Plowman*. There are, however, two obvious possibilities: either the fable was circulating orally and the poet learned it as he learned so much of the 'real life' of the Fair Field Full of Folk, from mingling with his fellow-men; or he found it in a manuscript of, say, Odo's *Fabulæ*, or some other of the various collections which contained it. But there is no evidence on which to base even a good conjecture. If the poet had a literary source, the most likely one *a priori* is Odo of Cheriton; but that is as much as can be said.¹⁵ To the further question, how the Oriental fable got to England by 1220 there are likewise two answers: oral transmission and literary borrowing. Something may be said for each. The former is a Protean sort of evidence,—if it may be called evidence at all; but in view of the known intercourse between the Arabs and the people of western Europe, both through Italy and through Spain, and of the demonstrated rapidity with which tales travel by word of mouth, oral transmission is always to be reckoned a strong probability. It can never be proved, but it cannot on that account be disregarded. Literary borrowing is also, in this case, not susceptible of proof; but a certain plausibility may be suggested. In the twelfth century the fable was very popular in England. The works of Gualterus Anglicus, Alexander Neckam and Marie de France are alone sufficient testimony of this. Moreover, Odo of Cheriton is not the only writer some of whose fables reached England from the Orient. "Considering the evidence I have produced," says Joseph Jacobs, "of a larger Arabic *Æsop* into which these stories could easily

¹⁵ The "mus sapiens" of Odo suggests the "mous pa moche good couthe," but the latter plays a different rôle. There is a close, but hardly significant, parallel between the statement of the mouse in Odo which would not even approach the cat "pro toto mundo" and the similar expression in *Piers Plowman* B, Prol. 177, 179; C, Pass. i, 192, 194.

creep in from Al Mokaffa's *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, we are justified in looking out for an Alfred who knew Arabic in searching for the original of Marie's Fables."¹⁶ This man Jacobs takes to be a certain *Alfred the Englishman* who flourished about 1170 or a little later. And it is by no means impossible that a manuscript of Ibn al-Mukaffa's *Kalilah wa Dimnah* which contained the tale of the belling of the cat found its way to England, and so this particular fable, translated perhaps by Alfred himself, got into circulation.¹⁷ I do not adduce this as an hypothesis; I suggest it merely as one of the many ways in which the Arabic table might have become known in England.

Since the fourteenth century this fable has had a long and varied career. I shall not attempt, however, to follow its history among the later fabulists; it will be enough here to add a list (incomplete, of course) of such versions as I have noted.¹⁸

ORIENTAL

1. Old Syriac *Kalilah and Dimnah* (ca. 570); see above.
2. Greek translation of *Kalilah and Dimnah* (ca. 1080), by Simeon son of Seth: Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης, ed. V. Puntoni, Firenze, 1889, p. 295; see above; cf. Chauvin II, pp. 21 ff.
3. Arab. mss. of Ibn al-Mukaffa's translation; see above; cf. Chauvin II, pp. 11 ff.
4. Proverbs of Maïdāni; see above.
5. Attāi et Riabnin, *Kniga Kalilah i Dimnah*, p. 266 [Russian?] (R. Basset, *Recherches sur Si Djoha*, in Mouliéras, *Fourberies de Si Djoha*, Paris, 1892, p. 49, n. 1. Cf. also Chauvin II, p. 24.
6. Decourdemanche, *Sottisier de Nasreddin Hodja*, no. 148 (Basset).

¹⁶ *Fables of Æsop*, London, 1889, I, Introd., p. 167.

¹⁷ There is a striking resemblance (which is probably fortuitous) between the advice of the wise mouse who pointed out (B-text, Prol. 185 ff.) the uselessness of trying to circumvent the cat and the trouble likely to ensue if he were killed, and that of the wise counsellor who held that "an evil of long standing cannot be so easily abolished, and that any attempt to cure it may easily cause a great calamity."

¹⁸ This list is made up from various sources (e. g., Chauvin, Wesselski, Oesterley, and Robert), and many of the books are, I regret to say, "non vidimus." Where I have not been able to verify the reference I have indicated its source. After nearly completing my collection I found that Wesselski, in his excellent edition and translation of Arlotto (Berlin, 1910), had already outlined the history of the fable, though very briefly. Grässe's reference (p. 305) to Straparola I, 3, appears to be an error.

7. Albert Wesselski, *Der Hodscha Nasreddin*, Weimar, 1911, I, 120, no. 213.

8. *Abuschalem und sein Hofphilosoph*, Leipzig, 1778, p. 167 (Leipzig, 1868, p. 107.—Basset). A translation of *Specimen sapientiae Indorum veterum, id est, liber ethico-politicus peruetustus, dictus arabice Kelilah va Dimnah, graece Στεφαντης και Ιχνηλατης*; ed. S. B. Stark, Berlin, 1697.

(9. Cf. *Inatula* 2, 111-160 (Chauvin II, p. 110). Cf. Benfey *Pantschantantra* I, p. 605.)

WESTERN

10. Odo of Cheriton, ca. 1220; see above; cf. Chauvin II, pp. 131 f.

11. Ps. Gualterus; see above. Some times called *Anonymus Neveleti*, *Appendix*.

12. *Ysopet I*; see above.

13. Bozon; see above; cf. Chauvin II, p. 132.

14. Boner; see above; cf. Chr. Waas, *Quellen der Beispiele Boners*, Giessen diss., Dortmund, 1897, pp. 19-21, 52.

15. Bromyard; see above.

16. Deschamps; see above.

17. *Libro de los Gatos*; see above.

18. *Dialogus Creaturarum*; see above.

19. *Piers Plowman*; see above.

20. Thomas Wright, *A Selection of Latin Stories* (Percy Soc.), London, 1842, no. XCII, p. 80.

21. Arlotto, *Facezie*, 1568, p. 106 (Robert); ed. Wesselski II, p. 64. On life and editions of Arlotto Mainardi (1396-1484) see Wesselski's *Einleitung*; on this fable cf. II, pp. 226 ff.

22. Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, 1522, cap. 634; ed. Oesterley, Stuttgart, 1866.

23. Laur. Abstemius, *Hecatomythion Secundum*, in *Aesopi Phrygis Fabulae* etc., Venice 1519, Fab. xcv; ed. Venice 1539, Fab. xcvi.

24. Domenichi, *Facecies, et motz subtilz*, 1548, fol. D^a; 1562, p. 154; 1581, p. 191; etc. (Wesselski, Arlotto).

25. Kirchhof, *Wendunmuth*, 1563, VII, 105; ed. Oesterley, Tübingen, 1869, v, p. 170.

26. Gabriello Faerno, *Fabulae centum ex antiquis auctoribus delectae et carminibus explicatae*, 1564, p. 47.

27. Nath. Chrythraeus, *Hundert Fabeln Aesopi*, 1571, 72 (Oesterley, Kirchhof).

28. Ces. Pavesio, *Il Targa che contiene 150 favole*, Ven. 1576, Fab. 1 (Robert, and others).

29. Verdizzotti, *Cento favole*, Ven. 1577, p. 33 (Robert).

30. *Facetie e motti dei secoli XV e XVI*, p. 123, no. 223 (Wesselski, Arlotto).

31. Italian translation of Simeon's Greek, 1583; see above.

32. Seb. Mey, *Fabulario*, Valencia, 1613, Fáb. 24; cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Origenes de la Novela*, II, Madrid, 1907, pp. xcix ff. (Wesselski, Arlotto).

33. Caspar Barthius, *Fabular. aesopicar. libri V*, Francof., 1623, 5, 19 (Oesterley, Kirchhof).
34. Daum, 238 (Oesterley, Kirchhof).
35. J. Regnier, *Apologi Phædri* etc., Dijon, 1643, Part. I, fab. 1.
36. La Fontaine, *Fables*, 1668, II, ii.
37. Is. Benserade, *Fables d'Esop en quatrains*, Paris, 1678, Fab. CIII.
38. Francis Barlow, *Æsop's Fables . . . in English, French and Latin*, London, 1687, Fable XXI, pp. 42, 43.
39. Sir Roger L'Estrange, *Fables, of Æsop and other Eminent Mythologists*, London, 1692, Fab. CCCXCI, p. 364.
40. Balth. Schupp, *Schriften*, Frank. 1701, 1, 781 (Oesterley, Kirchhof).
41. F. J. Desbillons, *Fabulae Aesopicae*, Mannheim, 1768, I, p. 163, Lib. VI, Fab. VII. Basset refers to this and adds: "Cf. aussi Guillaume; *Recherches*, p. 13."
42. C. Simrock, *Deutsche Märchen*, Stuttgart, 1864, no. 69.
43. J. Jacobs, *The Fables of Aesop*, London, 1894, no. lxvii.
44. Luigi Grillo, fav. 45 (N. S. Guillon, *La Fontaine et tous les Fabulistes*, Paris, 1803, I, p. 80).
45. *Fables en chansons* L. I, fab. 19. (Guillon).
46. *Fables en action*, p. 24 (Guillon).
47. Guillaume le Noble, *Contes et Fables*, t. I, f. 23 (Basset in *Revue des Traditions Populaires* VIII (1893), 292-3).
48. *Mosen. Palaestr. orator*, p. 324 (Oesterley, Kirchhof).
49. *Convival. sermon*. I, 312 (Oesterley, Kirchhof).
50. *Revue des Traditions Populaires* IX (1894), 646, the following story taken down at Villefranche-de-Rouergue: Once the rats succeeded in making a cat swallow a bell concealed in a bit of food; and thereafter they were warned by the sound of the bell whenever the cat came near. The other cats, enraged at this, put their strangely belled companion to death, and ever since this the cats have shaken their food before eating it.
51. F. S. Krauss, *Sagen und Märchen der Südslaven*, Leipzig, 1883 I, 55, no. 19.

The fable early gave rise to the expression "to bell the cat," which became proverbial. I have noted the following examples:

1. Skelton, *Colin Clout*, vv. 162-5; ed. W. H. Williams, London, 1902, p. 106.
2. In 1482 Lord Gray told the fable to an assembly of the nobles of James III. of Scotland, and on this occasion Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, gained the name of Bell-the-Cat. Cf. Scott, *Tales of a Grandfather*, I, xxii; and Scott's notes to *Marmion*, Canto v, 14, with a long quotation from Lindesay of Pitscottie.
3. Seb. Brant, *Narrenschiff*, 1494; ed. Fr. Zarncke, Leipzig, 1854, Cap. 110, p. 108.
4. Seb. Franck, *Sprichwörter*, 1545, II, 192* (Zarncke).
5. Rosenplüt in dem Klugen Narren (Zarncke).
6. Murner, *Schelmensunft*, ed. 1516, a^r (Zarncke).

7. Hans Sachs, ed. Göz, III, 22 (Zarncke); cf. ed. Goetze-Drescher, IV, 30 (Wesselski, Arlotto).
8. Geiler, *Narrenschiff*, Strassburg, 1520, 88 Schar, 7 Schel, sign flij^b (Oesterley, Pauli).
9. Egenolf, *Sprichwörter*, Franckf. 1555, 340 (Oesterley, Kirchhof).
10. Euch. Eyring, *Proverbiorum Copia*, Eisleb, 1604, 3,546 (Oesterley, Kirchhof).
11. Basile, *Pentamerone* (trans. Liebrecht, 2, 111); cf. Ebert's *Jahrbuch* III (1861), 161-2.
12. Ign. Guidi, *Nuovi proverbi, strofe e raconti Abissini*, Rome, 1892, I (Basset, *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, VIII (1893), 292).
13. G. Pitre, *Proverbi siciliani*, Palermo, 1880, vol. III, p. 326 (*Zs. f. rom. Ph.*, v (1881), 407-8).
14. *Zimmersche Chronik*, ed. K. A. Barnack², IV, p. 46, Freiburg I/B. und Tübingen, 1882.
15. Johannes Mathesius, *Die siebende predig*, 1563, in *Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. G. Loesche, III, 144, Prag. 1906.

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THE TWO FALSTAFFS

Most critics have maintained that the Falstaff of Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor* is inconsistent with the Falstaff of *Henry IV*; that the latter is at all times master of the situation, the former a mere butt of practical jokes. Sidney Lee, for example, says: "Although Falstaff is the central figure, he is a mere caricature of his former self. His power of retort has decayed, and the laugh invariably turns against him. In name only is he identical with the potent humorist of *Henry IV*." And it has commonly been assumed that this is the result of Shakespeare's writing the *Merry Wives* hastily, at the command of Queen Elizabeth, who desired to see the fat knight in love.

Shakespeare, however, was at this time (1599) at the height of his comic powers. On *a priori* evidence it is unlikely that he would have written a poor play around his greatest comic character. And there is much more specific evidence that he has not done so. Hazlitt, as frequently, has an illuminating suggestion—although he is disappointed in the Falstaff of the *Merry Wives*. He says: "We could have been contented if Shakespeare had not been 'commanded to show the knight in love.' Wits and philosophers, for the most part, do not shine in that character." There is

amusing autobiography in Hazlitt's confession; but there is likewise penetrating criticism. And Shakespeare defends his own dramatic purpose by making Falstaff state that he realizes his helplessness: "Have I lived to be carried in a basket, like a barrow of butcher's offal, and to be thrown into the Thames? Well, if I be served such another trick, I'll have my brains ta'en out, and buttered, and give them to a dog for a new-year's gift." Again: "Have I laid my brain in the sun and dried it, that it wants matter to prevent such gross o'erreaching as this? . . . Have I lived to stand at the taunt of one that makes fritters of English?" And, finally: "See now how wit may be made a Jack-a-Lent, when 'tis upon ill employment! . . . This is enough to be the decay of lust and late-walking through the realm." Plainly an indication that the *Merry Wives* is, especially at its close, much more didactic than Shakespeare commonly permitted himself to be. Plainly, also, a proof that, in this play, he knew what he was doing and did it of malice aforethought. There is an adequate reason. Although, as the critics declare, Falstaff is not himself, this is due to the situation, not to inconsistency of character portrayal. Professor F. P. Emery, in his edition of the *Wives*, recognizes this: "It is apparent that he is the same man, simply placed in another situation." Shakespeare knew what he was about. In reality, it was stupid for critics and playgoers to expect Falstaff, in these new circumstances, to retain his old intellectual ascendancy.

For consider the Falstaff of *Henry IV*. He is in a certain sense an unreal, though a wholly convincing figure—for the reason that he refuses to take anything in life seriously. War is as much of a joke to him as a drinking bout at the Boar's Head; and he angers the Prince at a critical moment of the battle by proffering a bottle of sack for the pistol that had been requested. His presence of mind and quickness of retort are always superb; his impudence is almost sublime. "Hostess, I forgive thee," he exclaims, after he has abused her verbally *ad infinitum*. And, open-mouthed, she leaves the room to "make ready breakfast." What wonder that even hard-headed old Samuel Johnson should have said: "But Falstaff, unimitated, unimitable Falstaff, how shall I describe thee? Thou compound of sense and vice; of sense which may be admired but not esteemed, of vice which may be despised, but hardly detested. . . . Yet the man thus corrupt, thus despicable, makes himself necessary to the prince that despises him, by the most

pleasing of all qualities, perpetual gaiety." Falstaff creates around his capacious bulk a sort of Utopia which frees us temporarily from the worries and troubles of the actual world. It is only the critic without a sense of humor that ever regards the Falstaff of *Henry IV* from a serious standpoint and gravely debates whether he was a coward! What does it matter that Falstaff ridicules chivalry, honor, truth-telling, and bravery in battle? He is not to be taken seriously. As Professor Bradley has pointed out, he is not a subject for moral judgments, for he is a wholly comic character.

The fact is that the fat knight really belongs in a kind of *Midsummer Night's Dream*—in a play of fairyland. And at the close of the *Wives* Shakespeare introduces a midnight scene in Windsor Park, in which Falstaff is tormented by supposed fairies—an obvious reminiscence of the early play. In a drama of amorous intrigue Sir John is perforce entangled in the realities of life. In that character he cannot shine. He meets these realities again, at the coronation of Hal, his former boon companion; and the result is tragedy that wrings our hearts, and that almost enrages us against the creator, Shakespeare. A wholly romantic character is helpless in a wholly realistic situation. Even Falstaff is helpless. He is the most romantic figure in Shakespeare; but his romanticism is entirely the romanticism of humor. Romeo pales beside him. Falstaff was Shakespeare himself in his Mermaid Tavern humor, just as Hamlet was Shakespeare himself in his philosophical humor. In both these characters there is much of autobiography; we come very near to the heart of William Shakespeare. The dramatist himself was not fortunate in love—or at least in marriage. And Falstaff was not built for amorous intrigue. At the close of the *Wives*, he must needs be a sacrifice, even a burnt sacrifice—for the fairies touch him with their tapers—to a sermonizing song:

Fie on sinful fantasy!
Fie on lust and luxury!
Lust is but a bloody fire,
Kindled with unchaste desire,
Fed in heart, whose flames aspire,
As thoughts do blow them, higher and higher.
Pinch him, fairies, mutually;
Pinch him for his villainy.

A sermon on Falstaff! In *Henry IV*, it would be like introducing a Puritan as chief clown. But in the *Wives* it is fitting; for

Falstaff deliberately descends from his throne of wit, his Utopia of nonsense, and sets himself a definite, practical task, that of overcoming the virtue of two bourgeois wives of Windsor—although he confines his exertions chiefly to Mistress Ford. Now, if there is one thing that Falstaff is not, it is a romantic lover. Besides, the virtue of married middle-class respectability must not be impeached! Fittingly, then, we are reminded in the fifth act that Sir John is “old, cold, withered, and of intolerable entrails.” The only addendum is that the brain of anyone who expected him to succeed in his intrigue is more intolerable than the entrails of the fat knight. Shall Ariel be set to digging ditches? And shall true Jack Falstaff bend the amorous knee—a knee which, when he is standing, he has not been able to see for many a year—to Mistress Ford, who may be “merry” but who is certainly not a mistress of wit? The only female character in Shakespeare who could have played opposite Falstaff is Beatrice, in *Much Ado*. She would have understood him and appreciated him; but he would not have made love to her nor attempted to storm the citadel of her virtue. As for Doll Tearsheet, she is purely a comic figure, like Falstaff himself.

Did Queen Elizabeth, then, if she asked Shakespeare to show the knight in love, expect Falstaff to triumph in this rôle? I cannot believe that she was so unintelligent. Doubtless she expected an inglorious farce comedy; and this is precisely what she got. Shakespeare could give her nothing else. Falstaff is simply not at home in an atmosphere of amorous intrigue. Of his task in *Merry Wives*, Sir John could not have said, “’Tis my vocation, Hal.” Falstaff’s true vocation was that of freeing his hearers from the bondage of practical life, from the bondage of time, space, and Puritans.

A good deal might profitably be said of the relation of Shakespeare’s humor to his romanticism. Rosalind’s merry denial that anyone ever died of love springs instantly to mind; and Beatrice’s wit combats with Benedick. But Falstaff is undisputed lord of romanticism on its humorous side. His encomium on the operation of sack, which “ascends me into the brain, dries me there all the foolish and dull and crudy vapors which environ it, makes it apprehensive, quick, forgetive, full of nimble, fiery, and delectable shapes,” is the most damaging essay against total abstinence ever written! Lamb’s burlesque *Confessions of a Drunkard*, good as it is, has nothing to compare with such a passage. No, Falstaff has

no peers in his own kingdom of Utopia. It is only when he leaves his specialty, his vocation, that he becomes a butt for middle-class virtue. We may all cry, after seeing the *Merry Wives*, "Ah, no more of that, Hal, an thou lovest me!" For how can Falstaff remain a supremely humorous character if he seriously assails the bourgeois virtue of Windsor? If he had only pretended to assail it, he could have remained himself; he could have continued to be unapproachable in wit and humor. But he takes his employment seriously. He steps out of his fourth-dimensional world into the real world. And the result is the opposite of the romantic humor of *Henry IV*. It is intensely realistic humor of a farcical trend, in which, however, witty dialogue is not entirely quenched "hissing hot" (like the hero in the Thames) in ludicrous action and situation. Falstaff is still Falstaff; there are no two Falstaffs. But he has changed his mind. He has been so foolish as to attempt to compete with people who take life seriously. And the fat knight now reminds us only of Thackeray's Jos Sedley—an awful reminiscence! It was cruel to Shakespeare to put Falstaff into *Vanity Fair*, into the real world but at any rate there is no inconsistency in the portrayal of the two Falstaffs. Old Jack may "divide himself and go to buffets," but he is still Jack to his friends and Sir John to all the world. Shakespeare has merely exhibited the dark side of his moon of jesters.

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AN EARLY SPANISH BOOK-LIST

Codex Escorialensis R-II-7 is a miscellaneous ms., containing some patristic writings, chiefly from John Cassian and Isidore, but particularly on fol. 113 r^o a catalog of books, in all probability from the monastery of Oña. This catalog is repeated on fol. 147 r^o, with some additions, in a mixture of Latin and archaic Spanish. This last fact is what induces the writer to offer it with some comments to the attention of Hispanists, though the book-list has been published by W. von Hartel in *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Hispaniensis*, Wien, 1887, I, 125-126; by R. Beer, *Die Handschriftenschatze Spaniens*, Wien, 1894, p. 369-370, after Hartel and with references to the older literature; and by P. Guillermo Anto-

lin, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la real Biblioteca del Escorial*, III, 467-468.

These authorities differ somewhat in their estimates of the age of our ms., the two German scholars assigning it to the twelfth century, while the learned and accomplished Augustinian who heads the Escorial Library, and is very conservative in his datings, says, "principios del sigl. XIII 155 fols: 310 X 225 mm." It seems that Fr. Guillermo did not sufficiently appreciate the testimony of the word *seruatis* in the entry done by the 6a manus, for *u* and *t* are thoroughly Visigothic, while the remainder of his script is in French minuscules. Now, since the ms. must have been at Oña by the early fourteenth century, and we have no reason to suppose our codex was done anywhere else, we would have to believe that some monk was still living at a rather late moment who used the Visigothic hand for *book-writing*. However, to be absolutely fair, the scribe of the 6a manus uses a script of a decidedly archaic type; it actually looks older than the catalog text. Finally, in these prefatory remarks, we should add that Beer believes the spellings *nueuu*, etc., are symptoms of a Western Spanish origin for the list; why not simply recognize here some very archaic forms?

(Col. I.) 1. Dos bibliotecas. 2. Vna omelia. 3. Decada / salmorum. 4. Los canones nuevos. 5. Los. / <cano>nes uieios. 6. Moralia iob. 7. Job. 8. Las / diriuaciones nuevas. 9. Las ystorias. 10. Liber orationum. 11. Thimologia. 12. Dos libros / super iohannem. 13. Paulus orosius. 14. Liber omelia / gregorij. 15. Quatuor libros passionarios. 16. Liber augustinus de ciuitate dei. 17. Liber / augustinus de doctrina xpiana. 18. Liber / ambrosius de questionibus euangeliorum. 19. Liber decreta romanorum. 20. Virginitas / sancte marie. 21. Psalterium cantoris pa-/riensis. quod iussit fieri dompnus / abbas. 22. Vita sancti onnenonis. 23. Quadra / ginta omeliarum. 24. Ezechiel. 25. Liber cintillarij. 26. Vita sancti martini. 27. Quatuor / libri dialogorum. 28. ystoria ecclesiastica. 29. Jerenticon. 30. Vita sancti ildefonsi. 31. Apo-/calipsin. dos libros. 32. Institutiones / patrum. 33. Collationes patrum. 34. Pronos-/tium dos libros. 35. Ad dominum cum tri/bularer. dos libros. 36. Vita sancti gregorij. 37. Vitas patrum dos libros. 38. Znarag / du. 39. Prosper. 40. Sumum bonum tres / libros. 41. Super ysayam.

42. *Quam bonus*. 43. *Liber duodecim prophetarum*. 44. *Flores psal-/morum*. 45. *Liber pastoralis*. 46. *Liber iohan / belet*. 47. *Liber allegorias de ezechiel /* 48. *Dos regulas*. 49. *Dos missales*. 50. *Dos / domingales. unu nueñu y /*

(*Col. II.*) *otru uieiu*. 51. *Dos santorales nue / uos en dos cuerpos. y unu uie / iu*. 52. *Dos collectarios de coru. unu / nueuú y*

os
otru uieiu. 53. *Tres offi-/ceros*. 7. *ij proseros*. 54. *vij. libros pora dezir missas*. 55. *iiij. antiphana-/rios*. 56. *.xv. psalterios*.

os
¶ *Estos son / libros de gramatiga*. 57. *ij. libros / de decretos*. 58. *Priscianus*. 59. *Arator*. 60. *Pa / pia*. 61. *Sinónimus*. 62. *Terentius*. 63. *Júuena / lis*. 64. *Virgilius*. 65. *Ouidius maior*. 66. *Luca / nus*. 67. *Salustius*. 68. *Aurea gemma*. 69. *Duo paria partium*. 70. *Suma de pris-/cián*. 71. *Liber*. (2a manus).
¶ 72. *La biblia glosada / in xii (spt. 4 litt.) libris diuisa singulatim per / ordinem. per corporum distinciones*. (3a manus). Don Domjngo /

(4a manus)

clesmes episcopus seruus seruorum dei dilectis filiis / abbis oniensis 7 couentuj eius jn ecclesia /

(5a manus)

<c>*clesmes episcopus seruus seruorum dei dilectis / fillis abbas oniensis 7 couentuj eius jn ecclesia / sancti saluatoris*.

(6a manus)

Tu lauasti pedes discipulorum tuorum opere manuum tuarum / ne despicias. Dominus uobiscum oratio. Adesto nobis hofficio nostre domine / seruatis 7 quia tu pedes lauare dignatus es tuis / discipulis. presta ut sicut hic a nobis exteriora abluuntur corporum / inquinamenta. sic a te om<n>ium nostrorum interiora lauentur peccata.

tqe

(7a manus)

laus tibi xpiste quoniam able.

(8a manus)

aue mar. (One or two more illegible pen scratchings, all *probationes pennae*.)

Comment.—Medieval catalogs are never very complete or accurate, for the cataloguer often contented himself with noting the first treatise of a miscellaneous codex, neglecting the remainder.

1. The two *bibliotecas* are two copies of the Bible, regularly called

by this name in the medieval period. 2. This was probably a whole collection of sermons, perhaps by St. Augustine. 3. One cannot guess the exact content of this entry or of 4 and 5. 6. The famous treatise in thirty-five books of Gregory the Great on the Book of Job; and in a reduced form by Tajon. After this comes very naturally 7. Job himself. 8. While we may well question as to what is meant by the term, a similar work is mentioned in a catalog of Santo Domingo de Silos (like Oña, in the diocese of Burgos); see Delisle, *Mélanges de paléographie et de bibliographie*, p. 107, Beer, p. 457. Etymological dictionaries, see Traube, in *Archiv für lat. Lexikog.*, vi, 264-5. 9. These histories were probably by Isidore; see Manitius, p. 59. Number 10 is not distinctive. 11. This, of course, means the *Etymologiae* of Isidore, the great encyclopedia of the Middle Ages. The spelling as we find it here is not accidental, for it occurs again, cf. Delisle, *l. c.*, p. 105, reading *cimologia*; Beer, p. 455. For the loss of the initial *e*, cf. Ital. *vescovo*, Ptg. *bispo*, early English name (s. VII) *Benedict Biscop*. Hence this is to be set down as a Romance form. 12. The choice lies between treatises by, or ascribed to Jerome and Augustine for the earlier period, and Alcuin for the later (barring a possible Sp.-Latin version of Chrysostom, of whose works there is a copy, s. X, in the Academy of History's Library from N. Spain, and therefore accessible to our scribe). Since Alcuin's Commentaries were not a favorite in Spain, our choice seems narrowed down to those two Western doctors. *Liber* and *libro* are used in this text and in other Spanish mss., now for a division of a work, its Latin sense, now meaning a volume or a copy. 13. By another celebrated Spaniard. 14. Needs no comment. 15. Four volumes containing the passions, *i. e.*, the martyrdoms of various saints. 16. This, the most famous of St. Augustine's works, was in twenty-two books. 17. In four books. 18. Not traceable in the Benedictine edition. 19. Gratian? 20. By Ildephonsus Toletanus. 21. A strong symptom of the French influence. 22. San Iñigo was abbot of Oña from 1057 to 1068, when he died on June 1. This ancient and contemporary life has not yet been found. 23. By Augustine? 24. Comment unnecessary. 25. While a work entitled *Scintillarius* was attributed to Bede, always a favorite in Spain, we more probably have here to do with a native product, assigned in the mss. to Albarus. See Manitius, p. 42. 26. Of course by Sulpicius. 27. By Gregory the

Great, in four books. 28. Probably Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. 29. Should be a collection of lives, sayings, etc., of saints of long ago, but it is also used as a synonym for *regula*, a monastic rule. Berganza, *Antigüedades de España*, I, 20, after mentioning a *Regula puellarum* in the Escorial, continues: "En la misma Libreria alcancè (*sic*) à ver parte de vna Regla, llamada Geronticon. Esta misma hallè en la Libreria del Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos la qual està dividida en dos libros." With this compare Antolín, *Catálogo*, II, 463 ff., on I. III. 13: "Cód. en perg. de letra minúsc. visigót. sigl. X 225 fols.;" its contents are *Calendarium*, *S. Benedicti Abbatis Regula*, *Liber geronticon*, *Vitae Patrum*, *S. Gregorii Papae homiliae*. Probably the ms. mentioned in our list. 30. By Cixila. 31. Seems to mean two copies of Revelations. 32 and 33. By Cassian. 34. Attributed to Julianus. 35. Psalm 119. 1. May mean a series of sermons in two vols. or two copies, beginning at that point. 36. By whom? 37. Any one of a number of mss. such as have survived in the libraries of Spain. 38. A well-known ninth-century Benedictine abbot who wrote a commentary on the *Regula Benedicti*. 39. Doubtless his *Chronicon*. 40. The opening words of the first of the three books of Isidore's *Sententiae*. 41. By Jerome, in eighteen books. 42. Psalm 72, 1, begins "Quam bonus Israel Deus." 43. Speaks for itself. 44. Selections. 45. By Gregory; translated into English by no less a man than King Alfred. 46. Celebrated twelfth-century symbolist. 47. Jerome's, in sixteen books. 48. Doubtless Benedictine. 49. This and the following numbers, including 56, are in Latin. They are the usual service-books needed in a medieval church; they contained the anthems, collects, sequences, etc. 54. Hartel, followed by Beer, prints *dezia*; must be a typographical error. 57. More law-books. 58-71. We are not surprised to find in a Classical teacher's library a Vergil, a Terence, a Juvenal, an Ovid, a Lucan, or a Priscian, but Sallust is a rarity. 59. Arator was a sixth-century Christian writer, whose works were much read in this epoch; cf. Manitius, pp. 162-67. 60. An eleventh-century lexicographer. 67. Must mean the *Metamorphoses*. 68. May have been a book of "elegant extracts." 69. Beer hesitatingly suggests "partes orationis," but cf. Ducange, *s. v. Pars* (p. 107, col. 2, of the Didot ed.): "pro lege," and "Pars Decisa, Decretalium pars ex earumdem collectione detracta atque in Glossas inserta."

It is the mention of the abbas oniensis by hands fourth and fifth that fixes the provenance of the codex.

This text is a very early testimony to the effort to differentiate *u* vowel from *u* consonant, a single accent being set over the former, a double one over the latter, in the presence of the other character. The occurrence of tonic accents need cause no remark, the practice having been in vogue since the ninth century, though it would not have many opportunities to show itself in a work in the vulgar tongue.

When we direct our attention to the *libros de gramatiga*, we see that this monastery maintained a classical school, with the regulation grammar and the usual authors, and some patristic or devotional texts always current in the monastic and ecclesiastical schools of the Middle Ages. But when we read the name of Sallust, we surely have cause to be surprised. And after finding a classical school there, does not the list of church and law-books suggest that Oña had also a school of theology and canon law?

On Oña, see Florez, *España sagrada*, xxvii, 125-176 (not 249-352, as stated by Chevalier, *Répertoire, Topo-Bibliographie*); this discussion is badly in need of an overhauling. Besides the authorities already cited, we used Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I, München, 1911; M. Vattasso, *Initia patrum*, 2 vols., Romae, 1906, 1908; and to some extent Migne's *Patrologia latina*. But the text is edited from a facsimile (to appear in a future number of *Palaeographia iberica*, if the fates permit), and from a personal contact with the codex.

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THE TALISMAN IN BALZAC'S LA PEAU DE CHAGRIN

The plot of this novel is to a large extent based upon the mysterious inscription on a piece of *peau de chagrin*,¹ which shrinks at

¹ *Chagrin*, derived from the Turkish *saghri*, meaning the back of the horse or donkey, from which the skin was made into this particular kind of leather. Balzac mentions this etymology further on in the novel (cf. Michel Lévy ed., xv, 188). Cf. also Buffon: "C'est avec le cuir de l'âne que les Orientaux font le sagri que nous appelons chagrin." Also Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclop.*, LIX-LX, 329: "Es wird von den Tartaren und

every wish of its possessor, and at the same time causes his life to shrink. Balzac, in order to be realistic to the last detail, secured and reproduced in the original writing the fateful text of the talisman as a *pièce justificative*. However, despite this apparent exactitude, he had drifted, knowingly or unknowingly, into several inaccuracies.

Raphael de Valentin, when the old owner of the curio shop calls his attention to the miraculous piece of skin, turns out to be a very skillful Orientalist. He examines the text of the "forme mystique et les caractères mensongers de cet emblème qui représente une puissance fabuleuse" with a certain anxiety, and remarks that "l'industrie du Levant a des secrets qui lui sont réellement particuliers." Then he proceeds to read it, and is complimented by the old man on his fluency in reading *Sanscrit*, which the latter surmises Raphael had acquired on his travels in *Persia* and in *Bengal*. Later the old man confides that he had secured the talisman from a *Brahmin*.

This alone is sufficient to show Balzac's hazy notions about the geography and the languages of the East. *Levant* is a name given exclusively to countries lying on the East Coast of the Mediterranean, where *Sanscrit* is practically unknown. It is likewise very little known in *Persia*. Moreover, the text of the magic formula is not *Sanscrit* at all, but *Arabic*, and for this very reason could not have been acquired from a *Brahmin*, because to this day the *Brahmins* dislike anything connected with the Mohammedan religion.

It would almost seem that Balzac deliberately falsifies the facts in the belief that the reader will not know the difference. There are reasons to assume that he knew in what language the text was written. The novel is dedicated to M. Savary,² brother of the well-known Orientalist,³ who might have furnished Balzac with the text possibly from his brother's notes. M. Savary—or any other scholar for that matter—could hardly have told Balzac that the inscription

Armeniern aus der dicht über dem Schwanze befindlichen Rückenseite von Pferde- und Eselshäuten bereitet."

²Jean-Julien-Marie Savary, 1753-1839, author of *Guerres des Vendéens et des Chouans contre la République française*, Paris, 1824-5, 6 vols., 8vo., from which Balzac may have drawn a number of data for *Les Chouans*.

³Claude Étienne Savary, 1730-1788, author of a translation of the Koran, and a *Grammaire de la langue arabe vulgaire et littéraire*. Travelled in Egypt and Greece.

was in Sanscrit, but as Sanscrit was at that time considered the most mysterious language of the East, Balzac may have been tempted to make this change for the sake of effect. There is of course another conjecture, namely that Balzac wrote the text in French, and had it translated into what he thought was Sanscrit, and consequently was the dupe of the translator.

The most interesting fact, however, is that Balzac's translation of the original is deliberately "touched up" in order to suit the plot. In the original Arabic the skin *does not shrink itself*, but merely causes the days of the wisher to shrink, or decrease. There are also two typographical errors, namely: *satananālu* instead of *satanālu*, and *qassin* instead of *qassim*, but they are of minor importance.

The correct translation of the Arabic text into English, as close as I can make it, is as follows:

- Shouldst thou become my possessor, thou wilt possess all.
 But thy life will be my property.
 Verily, God had willed thus.
 Ask, and thy wishes will be granted.
 5 But measure thy wishes on thy life.
 It is here within.
 AND BY EACH OF THY WISHES I SHALL DIMINISH THY DAYS.
 Dost thou want me?
 God will answer thee.
 10 Amen.

Balzac translates:

- Si tu me possèdes, tu possèderas tout.
 Mais ta vie m'appartiendra.
 Dieu l'a voulu ainsi.
 Désire et tes désirs seront accomplis.
 5 Mais règle tes souhaits sur ta vie. .
 Elle est là.
 A chaque vouloir,—je décroîtrai COMME tes jours.
 Me veux-tu? PRENDS.
 Dieu t'exaucera.
 10 Soit!

It will be noted that by inserting "comme" Balzac changes the meaning of the original to suit the plot, and also adds "Prends!" which the Arabic text does not mention at all.

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REVIEWS

El Alcalde de Zalamea, por Calderón de la Barca, with introduction, notes and vocabulary, by JAMES GEDDES, JR., Ph. D. New York, D. C. Heath & Company, 1918. xxxviii + 198 pp.

(Continued)

II, 30. *A ti te dé mal de muelas*: The assonant *retruécano* in *muelas* and *nuevas*, the antithesis in *buenas* and *mal*, the reason for the statement in v. 31, all contribute to the effect. To say, that the "meter requires *mal*" is to put the cart before the horse; the expression *mal de muelas* is a euphemistic reminiscence of *mal de muerte*.

II, 137. *Alcaida*: This word is not in the dictionary; for that matter, neither is *jacarandaina* of III, 610, which the vocabulary lists as the regular form, of which *jacarandina* is given as a variant! Otherwise the "not likely," "might substitute," "seemingly more common," "appears to be," of the note denote considerable uncertainty.

II, 140. *gira*: Another note written for the Hartzenbusch version. The etymology taken from the Academy is no better guess than *girar*.

II, 157. *Téngase*: It is vain to speculate what Hartzenbusch had in mind with his emendation. The reading of the text is a regular formula in such situations.

II, 161. *Sobre hacerme alicantina*: The meaning of the passage is obvious; not so, however, the reason for the information, which may, or may not, be true. The word *alicantina*, also in connection with gambling, appears in *Vida y Hechos de Estebanillo González*, V, but in neither case is there any explanation for its form. The whole note could have been written from the passage as easily as for it.

II, 167. *Mientras que con el barbero*: (1) There is no reason to believe that there is any pun on *puntos*; there had been no dispute about the score, but merely over the gaming fee, and Krenkel's suggestion may well be disregarded. (2) The expression under discussion is not *poniéndose con el barbero*, but *queda con el bar-*

bero, and means: 'While he's at the barber's getting sewed up, let's go to guard headquarters.'

II, 193. *que el viento sùave: trastes de oro* are not 'larger pebbles,' but 'the bed of golden sand.' It is regrettable that the edition, with time available to give the history of the barber's pole and to list characters of Goethe and Wycherly, should have neglected the only real difficulty of the passage:

De músicos que deleiten,
Sin voces que os entretengan,

of vv. 203-204, the most violent hyperbaton in the play.

II, 215. *Sentaos, Crespo*: Krenkel to the contrary notwithstanding, it is by no means clear that rank had anything to do with this courtesy. This deference was shown to any guest. Cf. *Don Quijote*, II, 31, for two examples.

II, 328. *¿Fuérades con gusto*: The note is correct enough except that *-des* forms are comparatively rare in Calderón; neither is it evident whether this form was chosen to add a syllable, or whether the rest of the line was built to fit it.

II, 361. *Pues . . . cómo . . . lo es!* (1) The reading of the text is not the one given in the note heading. (2) Either reading may stand; they have the same meaning. (3) Both of the interpretations of the note are absolutely wrong. In either form the passage means: 'Well, I should say so!' The passage is not debatable, and the "seems to mean" beclouds the issue.

II, 372. *Quién estuviera*: The translation given for the expression is correct. Not so, however, the explanation: (1) there is nothing in the phrase to correspond to "not want"; the *quién* is a compound relative, 'he who,' 'one who,' which passed early into a clear-cut equivalent for 'if any one.' (2) It is not so evident that this expression implies the first person, as the note would convey. The following example will show that the syntactical basis of the turn is a third person, and not a first:

Quién hiciera de sí otra
Mitad, con quien él pudiese
Descansar.

Calderón, *A Secreto Agravio Secreta Venganza*, II, 3.

The following:

. . . quién supiera

Explicar lo que estimo a tu hermosura.—Calderón, *Viña del Señor*,

is about as near as the expression ever approaches a first person.

(3) Although this expression almost always takes the *-ra* subjunctive, the *-se* form occasionally occurs. (4) This subject should have been treated at I, 313, which has not even been noticed, with a reference also to II, 842, which has been likewise overlooked. (For the curious, be it said in passing, the users of this expression are consigned in Hell to a special dungeon, according to Quevedo, *Las Zahurdas de Plutón*.)

II, 386. *Disimulan que les pesa*: The error in this note arises from ignorance of the impersonal use of *pesar*, whose construction is *me pesa de eso*. Render: 'How poorly they hide their anger!'

II, 402. *jinete de la costa*: Don Quijote is a poor example for *jinete de la costa*, as may be seen from *Don Quijote*, I, 2. These were light-armed coast-guards, while Don Quijote had done his best to arm himself *de brida* (in heavy armor).

II, 420. *Si ya no es que ser ordena*: (1) Not 'walking about in purgatory,' but 'walking about on earth.' The belief was that souls which were not at rest were compelled to walk about on the earth. (2) *Cañas* was by no means a sinful occupation that would lead to purgatory, but was of the highest repute. (3) It is not for any "serious engagements" that the captain supposes that Mendo is likely to continue walking, but because he is probably sore from riding horseback at *cañas*. (It should be borne in mind that this sort of tourney was ridden *a la jineta*, the mount used by Mendo.) The same quip appears at the expense of the *hidalgo* of Calderón's *Guárdate del Agua mansa* at I, 14. (4) Render: 'Unless he proposes to walk about uneasily, with his shield on his back, from the tourneys which he has been riding.' The *adarga* was carried *embrazada* when in use, not *a cuestras*. For a detailed contemporaneous description of the sport, see *Guzman de Alfarache*, Rivad., III, 211 ff.; for Quevedo's satire, see Rivad., LXIX, 38.

II, 430. *Y el rufo de mayor lustre*: *rufo* means both 'red-haired' and 'bully,' although there is no need of the apparatus by which the information was procured. Of the play on *jaque* and *porte* in v. 429 the note offers not a suspicion: *jaque* means (1) 'ruffian' and (2) 'each side of a pair of *alforjas*.' The meaning of v. 429, therefore, is: 'the braggart (bag) of greatest weight (content).' Neither note nor vocabulary has seized the play on *entre dos luces*, v. 436: 'at twilight, but well lit up.'

II, 433. *que el asonante*: (1) Assonance is not limited to the last syllable, but to the last accented syllable plus whatever vowels follow. (2) Nothing could be farther from the truth than the statement that "Calderón is fond of pleasantry at the expense of his assonance." Quite the contrary! (3) The note to the contrary, we are certainly to suppose that Sampayo is a deceived lover. (4) It is not Monday, but Tuesday, which is the unlucky day. *En martes ni te cases ni te embarques!* (5) The whole point to the passage is that this unlucky event, which should have happened on Tuesday, must be put on Monday for assonance.

II, 437. *El Garlo*: Little can be inferred from this proper name made from a common noun of the underworld; cf. *supra* on *La Chispa*. For the curious, be it said in passing, Calderón not only has used *La Chillon* elsewhere (Rivad., xiv, 651), but has made *Garlo* do verb service for her (*ibid.*, 651)..

II, 446 ff. *Acuchillan Don Lope y Crespo*: There is no need to supply *en fuga* (an unfortunate suggestion, at best, as an ordinary connotation of *meter en fuga* is 'to start something going'). *Métenlos* may stand as it is, 'drive them in' (into the wings). Cf. also Cervantes, *Entremeses*, Madrid, 1868, Gaspar y Roig, *meténdolos*, etc.; p. 182 *et passim*, as stage directions.

II, 523. *Del océano español*: The *mar océano* of the note is of no aid to *océano español*.

II, 532. *Puedo yo mostrar gordura*: There is no question of any "hope of acquiring" fatness; the passage means: 'How can I display what I haven't got, plumpness.' Nuño is starved to the point of emaciation. The play can almost stand in English: 'Don't display weakness!' 'How can I display stoutness?' Calderón has used the same word-play in *Bien vendas, Mal*, III, 3.

II, 534. *Porque tengo prevenida una criada*: (1) 'All ready' hardly gives the value of *prevenida*. (2) Although usual, the presence of a direct object with a compound of *tener* is not essential; e. g., *Don Quijote*, II, 25, *como dicho tiene*.

II, 537. *A aquesta hermosa homicida*: The note seems to take *homicidio* of I, 705, as masculine of *homicida*, "noting the gender of *homicida* in both cases."

II, 596. *el que dió Al barbero que coser*: The note has failed to bring out the play on the two forms of *dar*: 'if the one gets me who got something the barber had to sew up!'

II, 641. *La litera*: Praiseworthy are the honesty and modesty of this note in giving the German edition credit for this contribution, which is merely that of the Academy, first taken over by Krenkel and then translated from German into English.

II, 650. *Esta venera*: It is by no means certain that this sort of a souvenir "was frequently presented by the guest." The *venera* of Calderón's *No Hay Cosa como Callar*, I, 1, was given to a young man at the occasion of his departure. We do not need Krenkel's information that the *patena* was a peasant's locket; it is so defined in the Academy, and was confined to *labradoras* already in the time of *Don Quijote*, II, 21. *Venera* was already a generic word for 'medallion,' 'loket,' and the information of the vocabulary that it was a shell worn by pilgrims is quite impertinent.

II, 674. *Quién nos dijera aquel día*: *aquel* does not necessarily imply "far distant time," and may even be used of *ayer*, cf. Alarcón, *La Verdad sospechosa*, II, 7. Until further attested, the statement of the note concerning Calderón's "double time" may be held in abeyance, although it looks safe enough from a distance.

II, 685-743. *Escucha lo que te digo*: Although the opinions of Schmidt, Krenkel, and Klein are probably correct enough, the reader would have been grateful here as elsewhere for an original appreciation.

II, 715. *en el indio*: The editor is misinformed as to the "general application of *indio* to the West Indies"; the expression for "Indian soil" as applied to the New World may be found in Alarcón, *La Verdad sospechosa*, I, 4:

Cuando del indiano suelo
Por mi dicha llegué . . .

cf. also Santos, *Día y Noche de Madrid* (Rivad., XXXIII, 390a): *oro de Arabia y el indiano metal*, 'gold from Arabia and silver from the New World.' Calderón gives us the meaning of his *indio* in *Médico de su Honra*, III, 1, by an analogous expression:

Pedro a quien el indio polo
Coronar de luz espera . . .

II, 716. *Suelo y que consume el mar*: (1) There is no reason for giving the German edition credit for telling us that *consume* forms a contrast to *engendra*. (2) It may be assumed that Hartzenbusch changed the original because he did not understand the

passage as it stood. (3) No one familiar with Calderón need make the "criticism that the passage does not make sense." (4) The real difficulty in the passage, *viz.*: the production of gold by the sun's rays has not been touched.

The passage means: 'The gold begotten by the sun in India, or swallowed up by the sea, etc.' The thought in form to tell us the exact meaning may be found in Calderón, *La Niña de Gómez Arias*, III, 2:

No engendra del sol la pura
Luz . . .
Ni el mar guarda . . .
Tanto oro . . .

As to the birth of gold by the influence of the sun's rays, the idea is an alchemistic commonplace derived from antiquity, dating from Proclus, and is a favorite theme, *e. g.*: Calderón, *Antes que Todo es mi Dama*, II, 7; Lope, *Dorotea*, II, 1; Guillén de Castro, *Las Mocedades del Cid*, I, Act II. For technical alchemistic references, cf. the following: Rhasis (in Lacinio, *The Pearl of Great Price*, London, 1894): "The sages call gold the product of the sun." Michael Scotus, *ibid.*: "... gold is properly generated in the bowels of the earth."

II, 886. *Uno . . . otro*: The misinformation of this note is due to ignorance of the regular substantive values of *uno* and *otro*, which do not require antecedents.

III, 1-67. The point of view of this note, from *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1841, is singularly unfortunate, as Hartzenbusch has pointed out (Rivad., XIV, 689, note, and IX, 319c, note), and as will be felt by those familiar with the *Siglo de Oro*. The whole point of the passage lies in the fact that Isabel is a *lady* in spite of being of the third estate. The editor, with Viel-Castel and the Captain, expected to find *una villana que no acierta a responder a propósito jamás* (I, 190-192), whereas her personality is an alliance of beauty and intelligence (I, 719), and the author is running true to form. Any attempt to judge the poetical style of Calderón in the light of the realism of the century of Balzac is comparable only to judging a character by the plumes and slashed doublets of a bygone age.

III, 3. *Porque a su sombra*: *sombra* refers to "daylight" by implication, as in the author's *El Médico de su Honra*, I, 10:

. . . el farol
 Del cielo, y a su arrebol
 Todo a sombra se reduce;

render: 'in the shadows (which proclaim the light of day).'

III, 5-6. *tu . . . Primavera*: The annotation could not have been worse with malice aforethought. *Primavera* means 'sky,' as in Calderón's *La Banda y la Flor*, I, 10:

. . . el cielo.
 Primavera es su azul velo,
 Donde son las flores bellas
 Vivas luces.

If translation be still needed: 'O sky, fleeting springtide of so many starry flowers, permit not the dawn which is entering thy blue field to hide thy peaceful countenance by its smiles and tears.'

III, 9. *Para que con risa y llanto*: (1) Although the morning dew is the 'weeping of dawn,' *risa* has reference to the 'smile of brightening dawn.' (2) *Esperar a que ría el alba* (not 'for the dew to fall') in the mouth of Sancho (*Don Quijote*, I, 20) makes doubtful this usage as "merely conventional."

III, 55. *Vengo . . . malicia*: The wording of the note makes it extremely likely that neither construction nor meaning has been understood: *malicia*, of course, is the object of *hacer*, and the real meaning is: 'I am going to make innocence subject (debtor) to slander,' or; literally, 'I am going to make slander the creditor (master, dictator) of innocence.'

III, 98-99. *te miras Con manos*: Although there is not the slightest doubt that Crespo still has hands, to supply *libres* spoils both hyperbole and antithesis.

III, 179. *Es querer una belleza*: The emendation of Hartzenbusch is distinctly *not* a "better reading," and the passage shows every indication of reading as Calderón desired.

III, 212. *Si no alumbra, ilumina*: The information given in the note is exceedingly interesting but false! The curious may consult the Academy or the following: *el sol . . . iluminar el topacio*, and *todo . . . ni arde ni alumbra ni luce*, Calderón, *El Médico de su honra*, I, 8 and 10; *alumbrando Con unas pajas quemadas*, *La Cisma de Inglaterra*, I, 6.

III, 299-305. *Vive Dios que*: *Que pienso que* is not an insertion, but the direct complement of *Vive Dios que*, and the trans-

lation is: 'As God lives, if the captain's need has brought him back to the village, I think it is best for him to die from his wound to avoid worse!' The *que* of v. 299 governs *pienso* of v. 303, before which it is repeated; in English it is best omitted in both cases; there is no anacoluthon.

III, 374-378. *Mejor: llegando a saber*, etc.: As to the policy of choosing a reading "to bring out the sense of the passage," nothing need be said. The text means: 'When they find out that I am here and do not come under (*temer*) local jurisdiction, the authorities must necessarily hand me over to my military court.' This infinitive need not startle one; it occurs in Calderón's *Hijos de la Fortuna*, I, 3: ¿Quién te dijera . . . Ir tu Tisbe dada a negros? and is hardly more striking than *la justicia Remitirme* of the present passage; the omission of the subject of *temer* is no more difficult of explanation than *debáis (vos) No andar (yo)* of III, 523-524, or *pudiera (yo) al decirlo (vuestros extremos)* of III, 453 (also not understood by the corresponding note); for *temer* in the sense of 'have reason to fear,' see Cejador y Frauca, *La Lengua de Cervantes*, II, s. v. *temer*; for parallelism of clause and infinitive see Calderón, *Peor está que estaba*, II, 7:

Y esto confirma estar siempre tapada
Y que el Gobernador . . .
Tuvo . . .

III, 385. *Y no me salga . . . estuviere*: 'Might by any chance be here' is incorrect. Spanish has no potential subjunctive; the tense is future, and this subjunctive is used regularly for designation of an otherwise indefinite antecedent, *soldado que . . . estuviere*, being equivalent merely to *soldado alguno*.

III, 415. *tienen*: The reading is correct, the subject being not *prisiones*, but indefinite for passive as at I, 126, III, 586; render: 'without the irruption from silence of all the pangs which have been kept. . . .'

III, 425. *entre mis iguales*: The note is utterly erroneous; *tratarse* means 'to be treated,' not 'conducirse,' as *como . . . se trataban los caballeros*, D. Q., I, 32.

III, 453. *al decirlo*: Hartsenbusch and his emendation along with the note should be disregarded; the omitted subject is *vuestros extremos*.

III, 484-485. *Sino quedarnos*: Not parallel with *sin que . . .*

Reserve but its object. Here, as at I, 792, the annotation has taken *sino* as synonymous with *sin*.

III, 510. *mesmo*: The note is true enough, except that the form is not confined to assonance, nor to Calderón, nor to verse, and remains in untutored speech to the present day.

III, 515. *Mirad*: There is no "appears to be" about the passage; the antecedent of *le* being *honor* of 509.

III, 523-524. *que debáis*: The relative frequency of the omission of the subject of an infinitive may not be assumed without further data than is offered by the passage and its note. Without change of subject the omission is almost *de rigueur*; so also in those cases of general application as III, 167, *querer*.

III, 549. *Juro a Dios*: The verse is correct as it stands, as an elementary knowledge of versification would have shown. The editor has been misinformed as to Morel-Fatio's intolerance of hiatus.

III, 553. *que manda*: Nothing can be inferred from this passage, nor from Krenkel's opinion as to the usage of pronouns in ordinary speech; see *Modern Language Notes*, xxxi, 100. The play under discussion offers about all the usages there are.

III, 561. *Capitán vivo*: This use of *vivo* is in the Academy, and we need have no recourse to Krenkel. The secondary meaning given by the note for *muerto* is purely hypothetical, and the only pun is on the two meanings of *vivo*.

III, 584-586. *Les tomen*: Not as rendered, but 'that the confession of all three be taken,' a substitute for the passive.

III, 593. *a los que*: Not a dislocation, but a regular syntactical norm for this type. The Spanish form given by the note is practically non-existent.

III, 597. *paso de garganta*: It is the whole expression, not *paso* alone which means 'trill'; *hacer un paso* is not the Spanish for 'take a step'; render: 'with this peep (confession, also hanging) he will have made his last (peep).'

III, 622. *paje de gineja*? Maccoll and the editor have no conception of this passage, not because it is an "obscure Calderonian point," but because neither of them knew the meanings of the words involved: *de jineta*, 'light,' *de brida*, 'heavy.' Render: 'Aren't you a light (armed) page?—On the contrary, I'm heavy (pregnant).'

III, 680-681. *su vida*: *su* does not refer to Isabel, but to Juan; render: 'I am really saving his life while I shall seem to be executing strict justice.' Cf. v. 694, *le hallaré la disculpa*. Crespo would not have to put his son in confinement—a word would have been sufficient.

III, 772. *se salga con ello*: The note is entirely incorrect; render: 'He is likely to be a lout of such sort as to carry out his plan if he gets it into his stubborn head to have him strangled!'

III, 775. *Decidme dó vive*: The verse is correct as it stands; further comment is unnecessary.

III, 779-781. *que lo sospecho*: This note, written for the Hartzenbusch, is entirely impertinent and should be disregarded.

III, 785. *acá le tengo preso*: The verse is short by one syllable; the guess of Hartzenbusch is as good as any other; no help on the subject of versification, however, will be found in the references given.

III, 815-816. *Que vais*: To this subjunctive add *va* for *vaya*, II, 425, which has not been understood, as the vocabulary shows. See *Modern Language Notes*, XXXI, 177.

III, 856. *a no entrar*: We have already a periphrastic conditional here, and the note is beside the point.

III, 867. *proceso en quien*: Not the text reading, and should be disregarded.

III, 884. *Que no escuchara*: Sense and assonance are consecutive, and no lacuna should be assumed; render: 'this would not be listening to my daughter, as the treatment of my son shows.' The German original of the note is incorrect; *escuchara* does not mean 'have listened'; 'not . . . because' for *no . . . pues* needs no comment. *Pues* may be rendered, 'and,' 'for,' or omitted; the thought is obvious.

III, 924. *lo menos*: Hartzenbusch is *not* better than Calderón, and the text should not be tampered with.

III, 925. *Pues . . . así*: Hardly hiatus; there are ten syllables already to account for.

III, 968. *A esto . . . obligar*: The note is utterly wrong; render: 'although his honor succeeded (*pudo*) in driving him to this act of violence, it might have proceeded differently.'

III, 972. *Las plantas*: Not limited to the feet of royalty, as a half-hour with Calderón would have shown.

III, 977. *instrumento*: 'Instrument' has the two senses necessary to keep the pun, and note and vocabulary have gone out of their way to conceal the pleasantry.

III, 978-980. *el autor*: Not stage-manager, nor anything approaching it, but 'author,' as in *El Mayor Monstruo los Celos*:

Como la escribió su autor,
No como la imprimió el hurto;

and a hundred examples could be adduced without difficulty. Krenkel's note borrowed by the edition under discussion was taken from Hartzenbusch, Rivad., LII, Lope, *Pobreza no es Vileza*, where *autor* is brought into contrast with *poeta*, and has no application here.

Space forbids calling attention to the difficulties in the text which have been passed over in silence. Withal, the availability of the text assures it a place and a welcome.

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Die hochdeutschen Schriften aus dem 15ten bis zum 19ten Jahrhundert der Schriftgiesserei und Druckerei von Joh. Enschedé en Zonen in Haarlem [Haarlem, 1919]. Small 4°.

In 1703 Isaac Enschedé, born at Groningen in 1681, erected a printing-office at Haarlem, which was carried on and extended by his son Johannes. In 1777 the name of the firm was changed to *Joh. Enschedé en Zonen*, under which name it enjoys to this day an international reputation. No less than on the work turned out by its printing-presses and copperplate-presses, its reputation rests on its type-foundry, together with a rich collection of punches and matrices covering a period of several centuries, and on the interest manifested by Johannes Enschedé and his successors (i. e., his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons) in the history of printing and type-founding. New evidence both of this interest and of the up-to-date spirit in which the affairs of the firm are carried on, is furnished by the present publication.

Its immediate aim perhaps is similar to that of the *Proef van letteren, welke gegooten worden in de nieuwe Haarlemsche lettergieterij* (Specimens of type to be had at the new type-foundry in Haarlem), issued by Joh. Enschedé in 1768, except that it is con-

fined to the varieties covered by the term 'High German type,' especially the various kinds of *Schwabacher* and *Fraktur*.

More important, however, than the difference in scope, is another distinguishing feature of these specimens. "Schriftproben," we read in the preface; "zeichnen sich gewöhnlich durch ihren unbedeutenden Inhalt aus. Wir haben versucht, auch in diesem Punkt mit der Gewohnheit zu brechen." . . . "Wir wollen unsere Arbeit gerade für den Bibliophilen anziehend machen." This object is achieved by choosing as the text of the 'Schriftproben' a number of essays on the history of type-founding and printing, and by establishing a certain relation between the contents of these essays and the kind of type used (e. g., by using sixteenth-century type for the history of sixteenth-century type-foundries, and eighteenth-century type for the history of innovations made in the eighteenth century).

On the other hand, the various sets of type exhibited in the text of the historical essays are presented a second time in a belletristic division, so as to serve as the garb for one-page selections from German literature. These selections again are arranged in historical order, and by the same device that had been used in printing the essays, are printed so as to use sixteenth-century type for sixteenth-century literature, seventeenth-century type for seventeenth-century literature, and so forth. The correspondence between text and type is, for obvious reasons, even closer here than in the case of the historical essays.

It may be worth our while to consider somewhat more closely the very instructive treatises inserted in this publication. Though by no means intended as a systematic representation of the history of type-cutting and founding, yet they include some especially interesting chapters in the development of these arts.

The first two, entitled "Christian Egenolff, der erste ständige Buchdrucker in Frankfurt a/M." and "Geschichte und Entwicklung des Schriftgiesserei-Gewerbes in Frankfurt a/M.," were written by Gustav Mori, and appeared first in the *Archiv für Buchgewerbe*, August and October 1907. They are reprinted here together with an article "Von den ersten Franckfurter Buchdruckern," written in 1740, on the occasion of the third centennial of the invention of the art of printing, by Christian Münden, and continued by E. G. von Klettenburg; and with a brief contribution to the same subject, written by Johannes Enschedé.

Christian Egenolff is probably best known to the general public as the printer and publisher of one of the early reprints of Luther's translation of the Bible (Frankfurt, 1534, in folio).¹ This edition of the Bible, to be sure, was one of his most laborious and ambitious works; yet it was, after all, only one among many other enterprises. Nor were his interests confined to printing and publishing. By establishing his own type-foundry he introduced into Frankfurt a/M. a profession for which in that city a rapid development was in store.

Egenolff died at Frankfurt on Feb. 9. 1555. In 1571 his granddaughter Judith was married to the stamp-cutter Jacob Sabon, and after his death, to the type-founder Konrad Berner. A granddaughter again of the latter, Katharina Berner, was married, in 1629, to the type-founder Johann Luther, a great-grandson of Martin Luther, the reformer. In the possession of the Luther family the type-foundry remained for fully a century and a half. It soon developed into the most famous concern of its kind not only in Germany but in Europe generally,² and retained its leadership and its fame as a training school for die-cutters and type-founders till after the middle of the eighteenth century. After remaining in the Luther family for five generations, the type foundry was acquired in 1780 by K. K. V. Berner who, however, proved unable to re-establish the business on the old lines. Owing to the troubled times, the difficulties increased, and in 1810, after a career of nearly 280 years, the famous type foundry passed out of existence.

The name of the Luther type-foundry occurs again in the heading of the next essay, entitled: "Die Druckerei der Elsevier und ihre Beziehung zu der Lutherschen Schriftgiesserei," by Dr. Ch. Enschedé (the elder partner in the present firm of *Joh. Enschedé en Zonen*). This is not a reprint but an original contribution, written for this publication, though based on an earlier paper of the same author, published in 1896. The question treated by him

¹ See on this edition, e. g., G. W. Panzer, *Entwurf einer vollständigen Geschichte der deutschen Bibelübersetzung D. Martin Luthers, vom Jahr 1517 an, bis 1581*. Nürnberg, 1783, pp. 294-299.

² American readers will be interested in learning from G. Mori's paper that the first Bible published in this country (in 1743) was printed from type made by the Luther type-foundry, Christoph Sauer of Germantown having obtained from the Luthers in Frankfurt a/M. both the printing-press and the type for his Bible.

is one of general interest. The Elzevirs are the best known printers and publishers in the Netherlands of the seventeenth century, probably the most famous publishing firm of the Netherlands generally. Their editions of ancient and modern classics, of the Bible, the *Corpus juris civilis*, and numerous other works (altogether above sixteen hundred publications) were much in demand at their own time, especially on account of the clearness and elegant design of the type, the neatness of the pages, and the excellent quality of the paper, and are famous for these same reasons to this day. The question, naturally, has been asked long ago, who was the artist or rather who were the artists employed by the Elzevirs for designing and cutting their type? Various guesses in this respect having been made by earlier authors, Alph. Willems in his well-known work *Les Elzevier: histoire et annales typographiques* (Brussels, 1880) advanced the opinion, apparently supported by documentary proof, that Christoffel van Dyk, a goldsmith of Amsterdam (1601-1671), had been in charge of cutting the type and adjusting the punches for the Elzevirs. Dr. Enschedé was in a favorable position for making a thorough investigation of the problem, for the reason that the type once owned by the Elzevirs had passed into the possession of his own firm, and that he had acquired the technical knowledge indispensable for researches of this kind. His result is in the nature of a surprise. He proves conclusively that the Leiden Elzevirs had no type-foundry of their own. The Amsterdam Elzevirs, to be sure, acquired, in 1673, a type-foundry formerly owned by Christoffel van Dyk. Yet there is unmistakable proof that the bulk of the type used by them had not been cut by Van Dyk, and at least partly procured—like that of the Leiden firm—from the Luthers at Frankfurt. These results are based above all on a careful analysis of the types found in the *Specimen typorum Johann's Elsevirii . . . quos in sua Typographia habet* (Leiden 1658), an analysis which culminates in the result that of the 25 varieties listed by Johannes Elzevir no less than 18 had been obtained from the Luther foundry.

A third division of historical treatises incorporated in this publication consists of a reprint of several papers written by the Berlin type-cutter, printer, and publisher Johann Friedrich Unger in 1791, 1793, and 1794, in recommendation and in defense of his attempts to devise a new kind of German *Fraktur*. The collective reproduction of these extracts is the more commendable as the

original publications³ are at present almost inaccessible. They present a vivid picture of the disappointments and struggles which the inventor experienced before he succeeded in creating a form of type satisfactory to himself and to others. The fact, moreover, that Unger's comments are printed here in his own type—or rather in the various stages through which his types passed in succession—lends additional interest to this reprint. While at present Unger's first experiments can hardly claim more than an historical interest, the types produced by him later on must be counted among the most successful attempts to reform the traditional *Fraktur* type, and may well compete with the most modern efforts in this direction. Works, certainly, like Goethe's *Neue Schriften* (Berlin, J. F. Unger, 1792-1800), *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (repr. from the *N. Schr.*, ib. 1795-96), Shakespeare's *Dramatische Werke*, übersetzt v. A. W. Schlegel (ib. 1797-1810), Schillers *Jungfrau v. Orleans* (ib. 1802) need not shun comparison, from a typographical point of view, with the editions of Cotta or any other German publisher of the same period.

In selecting the specimens of belletristic literature, the firm was able to avail itself of the aid of Prof. J. H. Scholte of the University of Amsterdam. His name is a sufficient guarantee that the selection was made with exquisite taste, and the texts reproduced with philological accuracy. It must be understood that these are not facsimile reproductions but specimens printed in historically correct type, i. e., a kind of type in which they might have appeared to advantage in their own time. From this point of view, additional charm is lent to them by their present garb.

The final pages are given to the reproduction—in various styles of script—of two eighteenth-century letters selected from the archives of the firm, and to an alphabet of special capitals ('*Missal-Versalien*').

We learn from the preface that the compilation of these specimens has been a costly and laborious undertaking. The expenditure and labor, we trust, may not have been in vain.

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³ E. g., Unger's pamphlet—here reprinted in full—*Probe einer neuen Art Deutscher Lettern* (Berlin, 1793), and the preface to his book *Die neue Cecilia* (Berlin, 1794).

English Literature During the Last Half Century. By J. W. CUNLIFFE. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1919.

This book, though not so broad in scope as its title seems to indicate, for writers of great importance are entirely omitted, is, within certain limits—the novelists; the Irish Movement; the poets of the present generation; and Bernard Shaw—clearly thought out, lucidly arranged and written, and excellently suited to the needs of those for whom, as the preface notes, it was composed: “young people who are preparing themselves for the writer’s task” and who need guidance for first-hand study of the writers of the present generation and of the immediate past. An introductory chapter briefly surveys the progress of what may best be denominated Liberalism, in politics, society, science, and philosophy, thus furnishing the background against which the writers of the later nineteenth century and of our own time must be studied to be properly understood.

The chapters on individual writers begin with one upon George Meredith. Those who are acquainted with an earlier essay by Professor Cunliffe on aspects of modern thought in Meredith’s writings will have assurance of the adequacy with which, in brief space, the leading ideas in his works are treated. He is rightly approached as much from the point of view of his verse as from that of the novels. The estimate of his personality, a matter just touched on, needs some revision in the light of S. M. Ellis’s recent biography. The next chapter, on Mr. Hardy, is less excellent and has apparently been written with less sympathy. Hardy, like Meredith, properly to be understood, requires to be approached through the poems; and while Mr. Cunliffe by no means neglects them, he does not give them proportional consideration. Various statements invite correction. “The one thing that moves the poet to a kind of cheerfulness,” says Professor Cunliffe, “is triumphant indulgence in sexual desire.” To say this is to miss the note of “blessed hope” that recurs now and then in the poems, that is best expressed in the verses beginning “Long have I framed weak phantasies of thee,” and upon which *The Dynasts* closes. Of a piece with this error is the concluding remark that “it is strange that Hardy should not see the inconsistency” of ascribing to a blind and purposeless Will or Energy the production of beings

equipt with a moral sense. On the contrary, Mr. Hardy is obviously well aware of the inconsistency.

Professor J. B. Fletcher contributes a very charming sketch of Samuel Butler's literary work (his achievements in painting and music being here beside the point), which does not enter so profoundly into Butler's biological theories and their place in his work as does the recent excellent study in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, but which, in method and treatment, fits very happily into Mr. Cunliffe's book. After these three "moderns" the chapter on Stevenson seems to lead us back into another world. Not so the study of Gissing, which is the more welcome because of the paucity of criticism upon that remarkable man. One comes often upon evidence of the existence today of something of a Gissing "vogue"; it is the more remarkable that in these days of inexpensive reprints copies of his works are so difficult to procure. Professor Cunliffe's harsh strictures on Morley Roberts's thinly disguised biography of Gissing might have been modified had he considered the circumstances that induced Roberts to present his material to the public in the manner that he chose. The chapters upon two men so much written about as Shaw and Kipling could not be expected to contain anything novel, and they may be passed over with attention called to a curious error in bibliography in a reference to Walter Pater. Mr. Leland Hall supplies a study of Mr. Conrad. One is glad to note the protest against the commonly accepted belief that *Lord Jim* is that writer's masterpiece. Mr. Hall duly stresses the difficulties inherent in the complex technique generally employed by Mr. Conrad and points to *Chance* as the novel in which he triumphed through—or perhaps one should say over—his method. This method, Mr. Hall acutely remarks, "has given to the novel not a little of the plasticity of sculpture."

Mr. Cunliffe's later chapters are not so thoughtful nor so thorough as the earlier, for the most part not much above the grade of first-rate "journalism." Rapid reviews of H. G. Wells and John Galsworthy are followed by a singularly unsympathetic account of Mr. Bennett's work. "The Irish Movement," a subject so far apart from the rest of the book as to seem almost out of place, is considered too briefly for one hitherto unacquainted with it to grasp its political and philosophic importance; to the separate sections on Yeats, Synge, and Moore should certainly have been added one upon the man with the clearest mind, most poetic spirit, and farthest-

reaching soul of all the writers produced by the Celtic Renaissance: George W. Russell, "A. E." The last two chapters, on the "new" poets and novelists, attempt to appraise writers who are too close to us for it to be possible to pass upon them judgments that one may hope to be lasting.

On the whole, a well-reasoned, impartial, stimulating, and welcome book. To each chapter brief bibliographies, guides to at least the beginning of further inquiries, are attached. The work is excellently printed and of pleasing appearance.

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CORRESPONDENCE

VARIABLE PRESENT PARTICIPLES IN MODERN FRENCH

Bastin's satirical remark—"si nos grammairiens avaient l'habitude de lire, ils nous donneraient certainement parfois d'autres règles que celles qu'ils trouvent chez leurs devanciers"¹—would seem to find a certain justification in the practical unanimity with which French grammars state that the present participle in modern French is always invariable. Even a scholar like Nyrop says bluntly: "De nos jours, le participe présent est toujours invariable quand il désigne une action. . . . Ces règles . . . datent du XVII^e siècle: le 3 juin 1679, l'Académie décida qu'on ne déclinerait plus les participes actifs."² Here, as only too often, grammarians, ignoring actual usage, seem to think that because Vaugelas or the Academy decided thus and so, French writers have obediently followed directions.

That the verbal adjective in *-ant* still regularly varies in gender and number is not questioned.³ While the distinction between verbal adjective and present participle is sometimes fine, the form in *-ant* is considered true participle, not adjective, whenever the element of action predominates over the element of description.

¹ Jean Bastin, *Glanures grammaticales*, 1893, p. 25.

² K. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue française*, II, 69. The discussion of the Academy, which seems to have borne chiefly on transitive verbs, is summarized in *Les registres de l'Académie Française, 1672-1793*, IV, 95, Firmin-Didot, 1906. There is said to be a fuller discussion in *Opuscules sur la langue française, par divers Académiciens*, publiés par d'Olivet, Paris, B. Brunet, 1754. I have not seen this work. The vote of the Academy was 10 to 6 against varying "participes actifs."

³ Cf. Nyrop, *loc. cit.* A curious example of an invariable verbal adjective occurs in Hugo, *La conscience*, v. 13: "Il réveille ses fils dormant, sa femme lasse."

Frequently, though by no means always, this element of action is emphasized by adverbs or modifying phrases.

In the seventeenth century, of course, the present participles of transitive, reflexive, and intransitive verbs all varied freely for number, sometimes for gender.⁴ I have not noted any instances of varying transitive present participles later than that century. But has the present participle of intransitive verbs continued to vary since that time, despite the Academy's dictum of 1679?

The most casual examination of standard modern authors would seem to leave little doubt that such participles do frequently vary, both in poetry and in prose.

In the eighteenth century, to adduce only two cases, Diderot writes: "Des pythies écumanes par la présence d'un démon" (*Selections*, Heath, p. 3), and A. Chénier: "La lune, sur les prés où son flambeau vous luit, | Dansantes, vous admire" (*Poésies*, ed. Becq de Fouquières, p. 156).

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, examples are abundant. Following are a few instances taken from poetry: "Et que, les yeux flottants sur de chères empreintes" (Lamartine, *Le premier regret*, v. 136). "Tous errants, sans étoile, en un désert sans fond" (Vigny, *Les destinées*, v. 9). "Mieux que taureaux beuglants et loups hurlants de faim" (Leconte de Lisle, *Le massacre de Mona*, v. 27). "Quand une note au ciel retentissante | Comme un trait d'or soudain s'éleva" (Sully Prudhomme, *Le bonheur*, p. 203). "Ah! que ces notes sanglotantes . . . Caressaient nos âmes, flottantes | Du vœu stérile au vain regret!" (*Ib.*, p. 204). [Here the variable participle is called for by the rhyme with the variable verbal adjective.] "Cette verrière a vu dames et hauts barons | Étincelants d'azur" (Hérédia, *Vitraill*, v. 2). "C'est la senteur des sèves | Errante dans le vent" (Grehg, *Les sèves, les grèves, les rêves*, v. 16). [Here the meter is affected.]

Following are examples from prose: "A l'objection des divers partis existants encore dans l'Empire, il répondait" (Chateaubriand, *Mémoires*, ed. Nelson, p. 152). "Partout des soldats errants parmi les cadavres et cherchant des subsistances" (Ségur, quoted *ib.*, p. 176). "Les fils de saint Louis sont errants sur la terre" (*Ib.*, p. 503). "En voyant ses livres errants, ses meubles disloqués" (Balzac, *Le Curé de Tours*, Holt ed., p. 59). "Nous demeurâmes frémissants de terreur" (Maupassant, *Mlle. Perle*). "Il était assis sur le billard, les pieds ballants" (*Ib.*). "Je restais là, bras ballants et bouche bée" (France, *Sylvestre Bonnard*, Holt, p. 92). "Jeanne parut, essouffée, . . les bras ballants" (*Ib.* p. 133). [In this common expression, I have never seen a case of "pieds (bras) ballant."] "Le cœur gros, les lèvres tremblantes, j'entrai"

⁴For numerous examples, cf. Haase, *Syntaxe française du XVII^e siècle*, § 91.

(Daudet, *Le dernier livre*). "Puis se remet à coudre, les mains tremblantes" (Daudet, *Le mauvais zouave*). "Portes ouvertes, volets battants, des drapeaux aux fenêtres" (Pouvillon, *Hortibus*). [No verb in sentence.] "Jouait une bande d'enfants, cheveux ébouriffés, figures luisantes de santé et pieds nus" (Bordeaux, *La peur de vivre*, p. 106). "Les besoins croissants, nul doute . . . qu'elle ne s'attribue le monopole" (Faguet, *Le Culte de l'incompétence*, p. 214).

In the passages quoted above from poetry, are several in which the variation of the participle affects neither rhyme nor meter. In those from prose, the varying participle occurs in different constructions—as complement to the subject of the verb, complement to the object of the verb, and used absolutely. Any student of modern French can easily add to the list of instances. But if we abide by the usual distinction, stated above, between present participle and verbal adjective, even the examples here cited seem amply sufficient to stamp as untenable the belief that the present participle in modern French is always invariable.⁵

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A NOTE ON "A FRAGMENT OF A LORD MAYOR'S PAGEANT"

The interesting fragment (Trin. Coll. Cantab. MS. B. 15.39) printed by Miss Elizabeth D. Adams in *Modern Language Notes* for May 1917 deserves further investigation. I cannot feel satisfied that two of Miss Adams's assumptions are correct. If we do not question, for the moment, that the speech (or speeches) were addressed to a mayor, why must we assume that the magistrate was a London mayor, or that he was a Salter?

The London Lord Mayor's Show grew out of the Midsummer Show during the first half of the sixteenth century, and there is nothing impossible in the suggestion that these speeches were addressed to a mayor of the Salters Company in 1531 or 1542. The first definite description of a civic festival connected with the installation of a chief magistrate of London is Henry Machyn's

⁵Less convincing cases, in which there might be reasonable doubt whether the word is participle or adjective, are the following: "Tandis qu'à leurs œuvres perverses | Les hommes courent haletants" (Gautier, *Premier sourire du printemps*, v. 2). "L'eau | Coulait de la fontaine comme haletante" (Régner, *Le vase*, v. 22). "La reine retrouve soudain les illusions de son arrivée à Paris, chantantes et planantes comme la musique des cuivres qui sonnait ce jour-là" (Daudet, *Les rois en exil*, in Brunetière, *Roman réaliste*, p. 87). "Une trombe, brillante des couleurs du prisme" (Chateaubriand, *Lectures choisies*, ed. Pellissier, p. 109). "Une enfant brillante d'intelligence" (France, *Sylvestre Bonnard*, Holt ed., p. 153).

account of the 1553 show. It may well be that a mayor was greeted by some such address at an earlier Midsummer Show (which fact would make the reference to the change in season somewhat more appropriate than if the speech had been pronounced on 29 October); but it is not likely that a mayor would be addressed in the middle of his term as if he had just come into power.

At Norwich—where the mayor was elected on 1 May—there was civic pageantry in 1540, perhaps in 1546, and in 1556. In 1546 Robert Nichols received twelve pence, "for his horses caryeng a pageant of Kyng Salamon."¹ The pageantry in 1556 was very elaborate, and included Time, the Four Virtues and other characters, which welcomed the mayor from three different pageants.²

I do not mean to imply that the verses in question were delivered on any of these occasions; I wish merely to point out that there was civic pageantry in the provincial centres—or in one of them, at least—in the sixteenth century.

It is indisputable that the references to salt would be more appropriate for a Salter than for anyone else; but this does not mean that they were written for a member of that company. The verses would apply almost equally well to a Grocer, if, indeed, we had to regard the references to salt as other than purely figurative.

Miss Adams did not emphasize the fact that the verses, as she prints them, are composed of four seven-line stanzas, preceded and followed by couplets. The rime-scheme is, roughly, *ababbcc*—(and such rimes as *dome—sone*; *tyme—divyne* show a seventh-rate versifier unworthy of the metropolis!). The Biblical element (which is marked in the verses) is another straw pointing toward the provinces, although it must be confessed that this element was not lacking in London shows.

Speeches, together with vocal and instrumental music, were part of the civic shows from 1553 on; and it is not unlikely that in the Midsummer Shows, from which the former sprang, there were also speeches. There was certainly music.

If the stanzas in question were not addressed to a London Lord Mayor at a Midsummer Show before 1540, or to a provincial mayor early in the XVI century, it is possible that they were used to greet some sovereign (either at the metropolis or in the provinces) during a royal progress. Such phrases as "youre citee" and "youre dome" apply as well to a king as to a mayor; "To youre honowre worship and ryall mageste" could hardly be used

¹ Chamberlain's Book (1541-50), fol. 249. Cf. Ewing, *Notices and Illustrations of the Costume, Processions, Pageantry, &c., formerly displayed by the Corporation of Norwich* (Norwich, 1850), p. 13.

² The 2d vol. of my book entitled *English Pageantry—an Historical Outline* will include a more detailed description of this occasion, taken from the Mayor's Book of Norwich (a rare ms. in the City Archives) which I have compared with the not-always accurate copy in the British Museum (Addl. ms. 27967, fol. 54).

to a mayor, and it is conceivable that in the troublesome ending: "duryng youre mayralte," the last word has been generalized to a synonym of *reign*. The royal use of the possessive in the final couplet, ("in oure absens,") lends color to this interpretation, although this couplet has, as Miss Adams notes, been added in a later hand.

The suggestion of strife lately over, which is found in the reference to the coming of spring after winter, and is made more specific in such phrases as "Eschewyng Ryot," and "all Odious Rancoure be rasyd from you sone," seems to point to more than a petty civic brawl, or even bloodless hard-feeling. The salt of Wisdom, which has the purifying power of cleansing the wormwood from the "waters that were absinthius"—and by which "ys swagyd all oure distress"—will be given to the ruler whom the speaker addresses. Unfortunately we have not all the texts of the speeches with which Henry VII was welcomed on his progress through York, Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, and Bristol after the Battle of Bosworth Field in 1486; but there were many pageants exhibited on this trip,³ and these verses may well have been spoken then. Is it too much to suggest that the troublesome phrase "your mayoralty" was inserted by the poet as a hint that the king was dependent on the good-will of his people, and that if he lost this, he might follow his predecessor Richard III?

The fact that the MS. is written in a hand of the early sixteenth century need not bar out the possibility that the show of which it is a fragment took place earlier.

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DID BRYANT TRANSLATE HEREDIA'S ODE TO NIAGARA?

The ode to Niagara written by the Cuban poet José María Heredia (1803-1839) is probably the finest poem that has ever been inspired by the famous water-fall. It is well known that this ode was published in the *Poesías de José María Heredia*, N. Y., 1825, and that the poet revised it and republished it in the *Poesías de José María Heredia*, Toluca (México), 1832. The majority of literary critics prefer the primitive version of the poem to the revised one. Thus, Menéndez y Pelayo gives the primitive version of *Niágara* in his *Antología de poetas hispano-americanos*, vol. II, Madrid, 1893; and Fitzmaurice-Kelly also chooses this version for *The Oxford Book of Spanish Verse*, Oxford, 1913. Zerolo, however, chose the revised version of the poem for the *Poesías líricas de José María Heredia con prólogo de Elías Zerolo*, Paris, Garnier, 1893.

³ Cf. Leland, *Collectanea*, IV; Hall; Grafton; Raine, *A Volume of English Miscellanies* (Surtees Society Publ., 1890); and *English Pageantry*, I, 157 ff. for accounts of this progress.

Recently I was reading the English metrical translation of this poem which has been attributed to William Cullen Bryant (this is easily accessible in Dr. Alfred Coester's valuable *Literary History of Spanish America*, New York, Macmillan, 1916), and I was curious to see which of the two versions Bryant chose for translation. A comparison of the translation with the two Spanish texts showed at once that the English follows the primitive edition. The question then arose whether Bryant chose the earlier edition because he preferred it, or made the translation before the poem was republished in revised form.

In an effort to discover the date of the first appearance of the translation I examined several collections of Bryant's poetical works and was puzzled by the fact that they did not contain *Niágara*. In answer to an inquiry, Dr. Axel Moth of the New York Public Library wrote me as follows: "One of my assistants has examined twenty-five editions of Bryant's works without finding the translation of Heredia's verses to Niagara."

In the meantime my colleague Professor Frank C. Senour called my attention to a volume he had in his private library, entitled *The Poets and Poetry of Europe by Henry W. Longfellow*, Philadelphia, Carey and Hart, 1845. This volume (pages 728-729) contains the English metrical translation of Heredia's *Niágara* which is attributed to Bryant, but Bryant's name does not appear. The name of the translator is not given. In the *Contents* it is stated that the verses were taken from the *United States Review and Literary Gazette*, but the number of the review is not given. Mr. C. K. Jones and Mr. F. S. Hellman of the Library of Congress were good enough to have a search of the *United States Review* made for me, and the translation of *Niágara* was found in the issue of January, 1827, volume 1, pages 283-286, but without signature. It is found in the department of the *Review* that is entitled "Original Poetry," and it is the only poem in this department that is unsigned. Those that were done by Bryant have the signature B. The editors of the review were W. C. Bryant and Charles Folsom.

The name of the translator is not given, but someone has written on the margin of the review, with a pencil, "Bryant and somebody else." The Library has a duplicate copy of this number of the review, and on the margin of the duplicate copy someone has written, also with a pencil, "Part of it translated by W. C. Bryant."

This find made one point clear, namely that the translator did not choose the primitive version of Heredia's *Niágara* because he preferred it, but because there was at that time no other version in existence. The English translation was published two years after the Spanish poem first appeared, and five years before the revised version was published in Mexico.

But no answer was given to the question as to who made the English translation of the poem. If Bryant made all of it or any

part of it, he thought best for some reason not to attach his name to it or to include it in his published works. And when Longfellow made the anthology that is mentioned above, he did not attribute to Bryant the translation of *Niágara*.

The first time that Bryant's name appears in print as the translator of *Niágara* is, so far as I know, in Mrs. Gertrude (Fairfield) Vingut's *Selections from the Best Spanish Poets* [Translations], New York, F. J. Vingut, 1856.

When Mr. Godwin collected and published William Cullen Bryant's works, he did not include the translation of *Niágara*, and yet most people who are acquainted with this translation attribute it to Bryant. I do not know why this is so, unless there was an oral tradition to that effect, or it was assumed that Bryant made the translation because he was an editor of the review in which the translation first appeared. But thus far I have not found any valid evidence whatever that Bryant ever translated Heredia's ode to Niagara.

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THE THEME "LIFE IS A DREAM"

The two quotations given below may be added to the great number of occurrences of this theme cited in Farinelli's monumental work, *La Vita è un Sogno* (1916, 2 vols.). The first passage occurs in Gil Vicente's *Auto da Barca do Purgatorio*, being the first speech of the *Anjo* in the play.

Quem quer ir ó Paraizo?
 Á glória, á glória, senhores!
 Oh que noite pera isso!
 Quão prestes, quão improviso
 Sois celestes moradores!
 Avia-e-vos, e partir;
 Que vossa vida he sonhar,
 E a morte he despertar
 Pera nunca mais dormir,
 Nem acordar.

Gil Vicente, *Obras*, Lisbon, 1843, I, 247-248.

The next quotation is a part of the *introito* of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz's *Farsa de Santa Susana*. The *introito*, like all those of Diego Sánchez, is recited by a *pastor*. This is one of the rare philosophical *introitos* of the extant plays of the period.

After developing the idea that God causes our being, the *pastor* continues:

Estos cuerpos en que andamos
 Mos hacen estar en calmas,
 Que aun no entienden nuestras almas

Lo que entre manos tratamos,
Y en fin, tan bobos estamos
Que, sin duda, no sabemos,
Qué somos, ni qué hacemos
Si dormimos ó velamos.
La voz de espíritu devino
Que allas veces siento acá,
Dónde viene ó dónde va.
¿Quién sabrá tomalle tino?
Y del espíritu malino,
Que acá dentro nos retienta,
Tampoco entendeis la cuenta
Cómo va, ni an cómo vino.
Ni aun tampoco me diréis
Cuando en el vientre nacistes,
De dónde ó cómo venistes
Ni al morir por dónde iréis,
Ni cómo vos manteneis,
Como en sangre y carne y gilesos
Se convierte en vientres vuestos
Lo que comeis y bebeys.
Ni an cro que sabréis decir
Son decir que sabe Dios
Cuantas cosas ay en vos.
¿Quién vos las hace sentir?
¿Quién haz llorar y reir?
¿Quién haz callar y habrar?
¿Quién haz durmiendo soñar?
¿Quién haz velar y dormir?
Sueño que estoy acordado
Y téngolo por muy cierto;
Hasta que despues despierto
Y veo que lo he soñado,
Y cuanto ora, he yo habrado
¿Qué sé yo si lo soñé
Y despues acordaré,
Y me hallaré burlado?

Diego Sánchez de Badajoz,

Recopilación en metro, Madrid, 1886, II, 131-132.

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BRIEF MENTION

The English Sonnet, by T. W. H. Crosland (New York, Dodd, Mead & Co.). There is no preface, but merely a "Note" of five lines to commend this book to the attention of the reader; but that note consists of promises that are somewhat startling, and suggest a category that usually warrants the classification of an author with those who offer nothing more substantial than the gratification of curiosity in an idle hour. Here are the promises: "The main theory of the Sonnet set forward in the first sections of this book

has not before been propounded. The theory as to the true origin of the Sonnets of Shakespeare is also new." One sentence more completes the note: "The Sonnets printed on separate pages in Book II are the finest in the language." This last promise of a critical selection of what is finest in the abundant store of English sonnets gives the dominant note of the treatise, that of independent, confident judgments. Whatever may be novel in the two special theories advanced issues directly from Mr. Crosland's convictions as to the qualities demanded of the highest poetry. Undaunted by the fact that the sonnets have so often been culled, he confidently applies his tests, without exhibiting pride in originality that would avoid agreement with accepted decisions. In the following statement there is reflected at once the precision and the reasonable breadth of his view of literary excellence: "Out of the (probably) ten thousand sonnets which have been written in English, fewer than sixty can be accounted superlatively excellent, and nearly all even of these are more or less flawed, either technically or in some other respect. But from whatever point of view regarded, they are sufficiently perfect to stand for perfection, and their defects do not in the least reflect upon the sonnet as a vehicle for high poetry. The residuum is by no means negligible or base. We could easily assemble five hundred English sonnets, other than the finest, which have excellent poetry in them and belong to literature, if not to the highest sonnet literature. And for what would then be left, there is this to be said, namely, that its average quality both as poetry and execution transcends by far the average quality of minor blank verse and minor lyricism" (p. 79). Nothing common-place in that summarizing judgment; and the self-revelation it carries with it must also entice the reader to follow Mr. Crosland thru all his pages.

The theory of the sonnet here advanced and enthusiastically defended will not find wide acceptance without discriminating reservations. It cannot be possible to deny the conventionality of the sonnet-form. That by chance a conventional form has been evolved that is not only unsurpassed but unequalled for the expression of the highest flights and the deepest depths of poetic thought and emotion,—thus modified, Mr. Crosland's theory may win considerable favor. In a word, the theory consists of an argument for the supremacy of the sonnet and for its inevitable origin in high poetic impulse.

Standing in the way of the theory is the prevailing judgment that the sonnet is a "little musical instrument" on which the poets love to play on occasion. This judgment is here combatted vigorously and not without a touch of the truculence not habitually suppressed by Mr. Crosland. A conspicuous target is Wordsworth, who handled the instrument "with such consummate power and large spiritual effect," and who lifted the sonnet "clean out of its Ital-

ianate association and set it four-square on English ground past all dispute and for all time," and yet had but a "limited comprehension of the importance of the instrument." He calls it 'a melody,' 'a small lute,' 'a gay myrtle leaf,' 'a glow-worm lamp,' which is not to be 'scorned' because of its 'scanty plot of ground,'—all of which is apologetic; indeed the sonnet "has had nothing else but apologists from Mears and Gascoyne down." Mr. Crosland steps forward to prove that "the whole matter is entirely the other way about." His argument is orderly in plan. All that makes for high poetry subordinates lyric poetry as a type to the sonnet. The sublime transcends the lyrical quality in true evaluation, and the sonnet is the transcendent vehicle for sublimity, for "all that is greatest and finest." The lyric has a glory of its own, but it is by comparison a minor glory. Moreover, the sonnet in its meter is true to the highest demands of poetic utterance in the language: "Sublimity in English climbs on decasyllables." Here the author has to dispose of a collation of related forms. Blank verse at its best "amounts simply to a succession of high poetic flights on the decasyllable, all making for sublimity. Poetry in decasyllabic stanza is either a succession of high flights, or an attempted long high flight, on rhymed verse instead of blank; the mark being still the same . . . the Sonnet is neither more nor less than a swift high flight at the identical mark." From this collation Mr. Crosland rightly excludes indisputably great poetry in the decasyllable line that falls "under one of the three heads: unreflective description, plain relation or narrative, and sheer drama or exclamatoriness." These categories are excluded by the test of sublimity. But what does the collation prove? Nothing more than that the sonnet supplies a satisfactory form, a matchless *cadre*, for the effective isolation of a 'high poetic flight,'—a flight that is however not necessarily lowered in the contrasted forms, in which the rounded isolation of a short flight is less organically provided for.

Not content to rest his argument in the plain inference of his collation, Mr. Crosland insists on the inevitableness of the sonnet-form, denying its conventionality, its happily devised conventionality; and from this he branches off into a contention that a consciousness of this inevitable form is a steady influence in the poetry of all great poets, including those who have not essayed the form itself, as, for example, Chaucer. This novel contention rests on the assumption that "the loftiest poetry belongs essentially and by its nature almost as prescriptively to the sonnet form as to the forms in which it is cast." By this peculiar—and surely unwarranted—reading of the result of the collation, which shows merely that the loftiest poetry in the sonnet-form "belongs essentially and by its nature" to the loftiest poetry in the other evaluated forms, Mr. Crosland obtains the basis of his new theory. He turns for confirmation to the great poets and finds lines and groups of lines of essentially "sonnet stuff." For example, three groups of four lines

each, and in close sequence, are taken from Marlowe, with the comment, "Two more lines and the rhymes, and we should have had here a great sonnet." This may be granted, but it does not prove the point at issue. All possible citations of the "sonnet stuff" abounding in great poetry of other forms demonstrate the truth that sublime poetry is all akin and is best expressed in closely related forms. The sonnet is, of course, a superior school-master in sublimity and exact workmanship, but that does not prove the assumption that it has invariably been the school-master of the great poets. Mr. Crosland states the matter in this way: "all the finest poets have been either fine sonneteers or unconscious workers in the sonnet movement," for "it is the corner-stone of English poetry." He iterates the judgment that the sonnet-form is not a convention; "that without it we should not have attained to the blank verse line, or the blank verse passion"; that "when great sonnets cease to be produced, great poetry ceases to be produced"; "that there is no poetry of the highest which does not in some sort distinguishably ally itself with sonnet poetry," for "fine poetry generally (excluding pure lyric) is identical with sonnet poetry." The true meaning of "identical" in this connection, however, only reaffirms the result of the collation and sets the 'new theory' in the right light. The denial of the conventionality of the sonnet is contradicted in the very title and in many a well discussed detail of the following chapter on "Sonnet Legislation." Mr. Crosland must be supposed to assume that what is inherently essential in the sonnet is poetically and philosophically inevitable and therefore subordinates all details of history or tradition into extraneous and negligible factors; and that he has anticipated criticism at this point by the former statement (p. 30) that he believes it impossible "to find either in Shakespeare or any other high poet at his highest a passage of beauty and power which runs to more than fourteen lines." His fundamental proposition is that "the necessities of poetic and not the arbitrariness of example" begot and always will beget the sonnet. To the Italian sonneteers the form came "by nature and instinct, just as the sonnet content came their way"; in like manner "a great poet, who had never seen a sonnet" of the masters of the form, would "in certain circumstances of occasion inevitably re-discover something like the sonnet form for himself," and the greater the poet the closer his sonnet would agree with the established form (p. 57).

Space is not available for a further report of Mr. Crosland's discussion of "Sonnet Legislation" and for an analysis of his chapter on "Sequences and Subject Matter." In these divisions of his book (pp. 37-121), there is much of discriminating criticism and of originality of manner in an orderly and ample treatment of the various aspects of the sonnet-problem. To refer to but one of these aspects, the sonnet-sequence is declared to be, at least for modern use, "an unprofitable and even destructive device," for

"the sonnet is the preordained form for the complete expression of a certain special kind of poetical emotion," and is not adapted therefore to develop or advance an argument or a coherent story. "Even the inglorious tale which Shakespeare is held to unfold comes to us more through inference than direct or explicit relation." This awakens an anticipatory interest in Mr. Crosland's theory of Shakespeare's sonnets, which is set forth in "Book Two," consisting of the selected sonnets from Wyatt to Alice Meynell, with biographical and critical introductions of considerable merit.

The second 'new theory' here advanced shall be reported briefly as possible. To attain the highest possible eminence in poetry, from which the prejudice of his day debarred the purely dramatic poet, Shakespeare turned to the sonnet. Mr. Crosland is almost certain "that the *Sonnets* were indeed written out of a desire on the part of the author to make it evident to the world that he was something more than a successful playwright, and that he could compete with the best non-dramatic poets . . . on their own ground, and even outstrip them." Understanding the sonnet to be the form for single poetic flights, he composed these sonnets as a growing series, not as a coherent sequence, in inspired moments wrested from the dramatic work of eleven years of his prime. This plainly refutes the autobiographical theory, which is set aside also by more specific negations. The poems required a "good send-off," and were accordingly submitted to the public with a dedication that could have been written by no stationer, but only by the best artist in work of that class; and Shakespeare is "in every stroke" of it. "T. T." is surely a blind, justified perhaps by the reluctance of a poet "to praise himself in prose." As for the statement "To the onlie begetter . . . Mr. W. H.," that "would excite the curiosity of the town," while "promised by our *ever-living poet*" would delight his ambitious eye, . . . and duly impress the wise world." It would have been impossible to have signed "the ever-living poet" by W. S., whereas the substituted T. T. "looked plausible and proper and impressive." Contrasted with the attempts to identify the "two loves," this "pure conjecture" has the advantage of having "all the human and poetical probabilities on its side." The assumed story of the series abounds in improbabilities; for example, there is no "heart-unlocking" of the assumed character in the first twenty-six poems; altho it is admitted that, "in spite of himself," Shakespeare "had stumbled, after sonnet 26, into the old business of story-telling." A "sort of tale" had thus been evolved fortuitously, and the reader had to be helped to imagine it; whereupon sonnet 144 was devised to "knit up the ravelment." The story is fortuitous, that is to say "the sonnets were not written out of a story personal or impersonal; . . . Shakespeare recognized that when the pinion is at its sweep, story has to wait. He perceived that the finest poetry has no story"; and in this series of poems he strove to achieve the finest poetry.

J. W. B.

English > German Literary Influences. Bibliography and Survey. (Part I. Bibliography). By LAWRENCE MARSDEN PRICE. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 1-111. 1919.—Eine eigentliche Besprechung der vorliegenden Schrift kann erst erfolgen, wenn das Werk ganz erschienen ist; denn erst der zweite Teil—a Survey—dürfte das eigentlich Kritische bringen. Schon der erste Teil, die bare Bibliographie, verdient jedoch Erwähnung und Empfehlung. Bibliographische Werke dieser Art kann es garnicht genug geben, damit die Forschungsarbeit von dem mechanischen und zeitraubenden Zusammensuchen und Zusammenstellen möglichst befreit werde. Die rechte bibliographische Übersicht macht den Stand der Forschung klar und bereitet den wirklichen wissenschaftlichen Fortschritt vor. Ohne gründliche Kenntnis dessen, was bereits geleistet worden ist, lässt sich keine ehrliche Weiterarbeit tun. An dem grossen praktischen Wert von Prices Bibliographie lässt sich deshalb nicht zweifeln, und es kann dem Verfasser nur weiterer gedeihlicher Fortschritt seiner Studien sowie die Mitarbeit vieler Kollegen gewünscht werden.

Neue Titel und neue Namen lassen sich natürlich leicht von jedem Forscher beifügen, was jedoch an dieser Stelle nicht geschehen soll. Grundsätzlich wird zu sagen sein, dass die grosse Welterschütterung des Krieges von heute, der selbst in der Wissenschaft immer noch rast, auch die literarischen Begriffe und Methoden umwertet. In Deutschland z. B. ist man einer gewissen "internationalen" Literaturforschung müde geworden. Man vergleiche nur Ernst Elsters "Weltliteratur und Literaturvergleichung" von 1901 (bei Price S. 9) mit desselben Gelehrten Rektoratsrede vom Jahre 1915 über Deutschtum und Dichtung, und man wird den Ernst des Problems verstehen. Auch Adolf Bartels Kampfschrift von 1915 über nationale oder universale Literaturwissenschaft gehört hierher. Diese Besinnung auf nationales Schrifttum ist 1919 noch nötiger als es 1915 schon war. Andererseits findet sich manche verheissungsvolle Arbeit in der Richtung auf propagandalose, d. h. wahre vergleichende, Literaturkunde, z. B. Else Beils Dissertation unter Albert Köster *Zur Entwicklung des Begriffs Weltliteratur* (Probefahrten, 28. Heft). Gerade dieser Begriff der Weltliteratur bedarf der gründlichen Untersuchung bis auf unsere Tage, wie denn überhaupt zur Theorie der sog. vergleichenden Literatur bis jetzt noch fast alles zu leisten ist.

Es ist fraglich, ob sich Price nicht sein Feld von vornherein dadurch verengt hat, dass er sich nur mit "English > German literary influences" beschäftigt, anstatt mit "literary relations" wie etwa C. H. Herford. Ich bezweifle auch stark, dass es möglich ist, den englischen Einfluss auf die deutsche Literatur einseitig zu erfassen. Denn "Meredith in Deutschland," um nur ein auffallendes Beispiel zu nennen, ist ohne "Deutschland und die Deutschen bei Meredith" nicht zu begreifen.

F. S.

The Symbolist Movement in Literature, by Arthur Symons, first published in 1898 and reprinted with some revisions in 1908, has lately been reissued in greatly enlarged and somewhat revised form by E. P. Dutton and Company. Chapters, originally printed as separate essays, on Balzac, Mérimée, Gautier, Flaubert, Baudelaire, the de Goncourts, Léon Cladel, Zola (a "note" on his "method"), and the earlier Huysmans, have been added and the original order of the contents a good deal, and for the most part for the better, changed. The studies that formed the original work are practically untouched, though in the case of Verlaine the appended note is considerably expanded. It is not necessary at this date to review Mr. Symons' volume in detail; it is an authority in its way, though it would be difficult to controvert those who may remark that it is authoritative rather for the development of Mr. Symons' own mind and art than for Symbolism. The new chapters ("new," that is, to this volume) differ greatly in merit. By far the most interesting is that which now forms the first of two studies of Huysmans. "The Later Huysmans" (which was included in the original edition) needed the introduction afforded by Mr. Symons' essay on his earlier phases, an essay that has been too long buried in *The Fortnightly Review* for March, 1892. There is much to be said in justification of the choice of Balzac as the subject for the opening essay; the exact place of Mérimée in the Movement is not so clear; the excusably harsh judgment upon Zola's method finds place in the book only by that sort of casuistry of which Mr. Symons is a master. Others of the new essays are weak and thin; the few pages upon Baudelaire are quite unworthy of their author and, like the chapters on Flaubert and Gautier, are not much above the standard of the articles in *Vanity Fair*, upon which Mr. Symons wastes his subtle talents and delicate style. The omission of the original dedication to Mr. Yeats is significant, since in that dedication Mr. Symons had declared that he was gradually finding his way, "uncertainly but inevitably, in that direction which has always been to you your natural direction" (i. e., the direction of mysticism). Does the omission from this new edition mean that the author's attitude towards what has been called Neomysticism has changed? Sixty pages of translation from Mallarmé and Verlaine (mostly from the latter) close this beautiful, subtle, often intangible book. Here Mr. Symons is at his best, and though much of this work will be recognized as old favorites by lovers of his verse, it was a happy thought to illustrate in this way the qualities upon which the critic comments in the body of the work. The rendition of Verlaine's "Clair de Lune" is quite marvelous; other pieces are done with scarcely less excellence. S. C. C.

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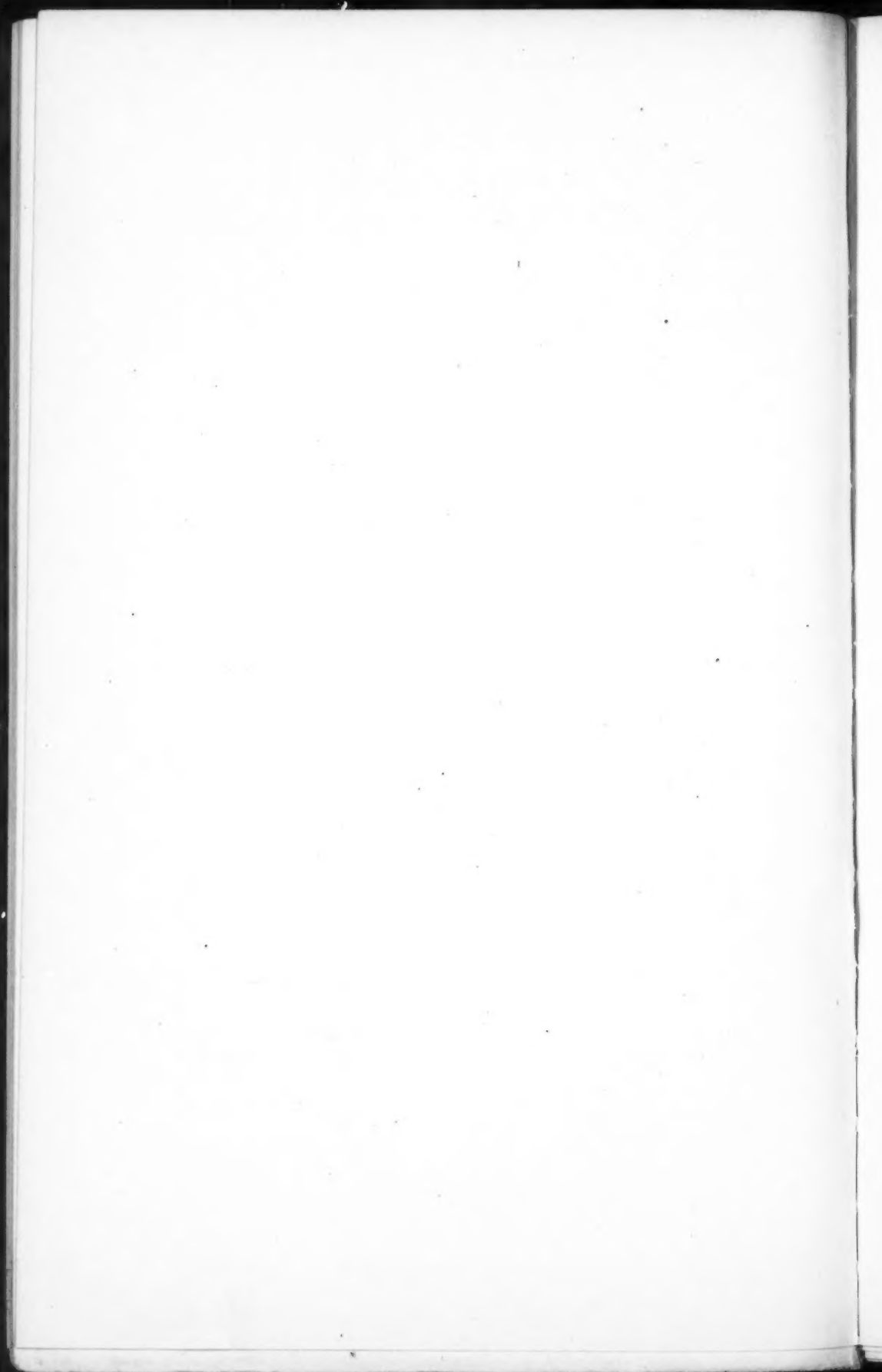
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